UC Berkeley
UC Berkeley Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Title
Translation and the Experience of Modernity: A History of German Turkish Connectivity

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4g22n4qv

Author
Dickinson, Kristin Ann

Publication Date
2015

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

Translation and the Experience of Modernity:
A History of German Turkish Connectivity

By

Kristin Ann Dickinson

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Comparative Literature

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Deniz Göktürk, Chair
Professor Aslı Iğsız
Professor Chenxi Tang
Professor Karl Britto
Professor Frank Bezner

Summer 2015

Translation and the Experience of Modernity:
A History of German Turkish Connectivity

ABSTRACT

Translation and the Experience of Modernity:
A History of German Turkish Connectivity

by

Kristin Ann Dickinson

Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Deniz Göktürk, Chair

This dissertation traces the development of a German Turkish translational relationship from the first publication of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* [1819, *West-eastern Divan*] to the speeches and events surrounding the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair, *Turkey in All Its Colors*. While attending to the continued uneven circulation of texts in the global marketplace, I examine the crucial role translations—as well as literary texts that theorize translation—played throughout the history of German Turkish literary exchange. Informed by the centrality of large-scale translation movements to the cultural experience of modernity and the development of national literary cultures in both the German and Turkish contexts, my case studies nevertheless exhibit omnidirectional translation practices that exceed the realm of the national. They reveal the centrality of Ottoman literature and history to even highly canonical German authors such as Goethe, and exhibit a sense of agency on both sides of a German Turkish translational exchange that counters Ottoman perceptions of its literary belatedness vis-à-vis the "West."

The second part of this dissertation considers the significance of an extended German Turkish translational relationship for the contemporary field of Turkish German studies. In particular, I read Zafer Şenocak's oft-cited call for an "extension of the concept of Germanness" in relation to his most recent novels written in Turkish. A move that demands translation into the German speaking realm from the outset, Şenocak's "Turkish turn" shifts from a focus on (post)migrants' relative ability to participate in a specifically German history to moments of real and imagined German Turkish contact across national lines. In successive chapters I read the abandoned Ottoman pavilion at the center of *Köşk* [2008, *The Residence*] —where the main character translates the poetry of Ingeborg Bachmann following the 1960 Turkish military coup—and the international stage provided by the Frankfurt Book Fair as key translational sites from which new modes of listening, speaking, and multidirectional remembering are negotiated for Turkish German studies in the 21st century.

~ for Leyla

who was born with this dissertation,
and inspired me every step of the way

TABLE OF CONTENTS

༺⊷❧༻

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

⚬≫𝓁≪⚬

Note:

This work contains many translations from Ottoman Turkish, modern Turkish, and German. When an English-language edition is not cited, the translation is my own.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

Translational Connectivity

> "Modernity is not lived today through nationality but ... through translationality."
>
> ~ Ilan Stevens, "Translation and Its Discontents"

"Der türkische Schriftsteller kennt Goethe, Hölderlin, Benn, Trakl, Eich, Celan, Bachmann, Kafka, Camus. Und der deutsche Schriftsteller? Kennt er Cansever, Uyar, Süreya? Hat er je den Namen Ibnül Emin gehört?" (*Araber* 35) [The Turkish author knows Goethe, Hölderlin, Benn, Trakl, Eich, Celan, Bachmann, Kafka, Camus. And the German author? Does he know Cansever, Uyar, Süreya? Has he ever heard the name Ibnül Emin?]. An avid translator himself, contemporary Turkish German author and essayist Zafer Şenocak's questions are central to the arc of this dissertation: His emphasis on disparate systems of cultural valuation highlights the uneven circulation of texts in translation between literatures that have traditionally been assumed to occupy positions on the center and periphery of a global modernity. In contrast to the numerous German authors who have made their way into Turkish via translation, it points to the continued underrepresentation of minority languages such as Turkish on the German market. Şenocak's inclusion of Albert Camus in a long list of famous German authors nevertheless interrupts the German Turkish binary his questions otherwise assert, and highlights the important role translations have played in challenging the viability of strictly nationally determined literary canons. At the same time, the very choice of Camus as a Nobel Prize-winning author points to the current formulation of a cosmopolitan canon of world literature, and the increasing demand on authors of minor and major literatures alike to build forms of crosscultural translatability into their work in order to gain recognition on the global market.

Şenocak's questions point to the complexity of the German Turkish translational relationship, both in its historical trajectory and contemporary configurations. Even in the face of inequalities, his inclusionary gesture suggests the need to look for cross-linguistic and -cultural connections in unexpected places. In tracing a nearly 200 year history of German Turkish translational contact—from Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *West-östlicher Divan* [1819, *West-eastern Divan*] to the speeches and events surrounding the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair—my dissertation does precisely this. I develop a concept of translational connectivity that examines the discursive contexts within which translations between German and Turkish have historically taken place, and the diverse reasons for a significant increase in translations from Turkish into German in the 21st century.

Throughout this dissertation, I consider *why* translation activity has remained largely overlooked in cultural studies and literary histories of the German Turkish relationship, and *how* translations between these two languages have intervened in dominant paradigms of analysis. The first chapter in particular establishes a historical framework for the larger

trajectory of my case studies. I examine here the exceptional role the Ottoman Empire has played within the discourse of Orientalism at large, and the philologically oriented field of German *Orientalistik* in particular. The Ottoman Empire was both heteroglossic—with a highly metaphoric courtly language and numerous spoken dialects—and hybrid, combining elements of Turkic, Arabic, and Persian grammar and vocabulary. As such, it posed a challenge to ethnocultural definitions of a *Volkssprache* (Herder) that emerged in the late 18th century. While this led to a relative dearth in translations from Ottoman into German in comparison to languages such as Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit, and Hebrew, this does not mean that existing translations are relatively lesser in value. On the contrary, they call for our increased attention as an exception to the norm. Translations from German into Ottoman could be characterized similarly. Amidst a paradigm shift in late Ottoman translation activity—which marked a turn from Arabic and Persian to western European source texts in the mid 19th century—the largest corpus of translations were from French. While secondary scholarship has attended in detail to the French literary influence during this time period, the dominant emphasis on Ottoman French relations has overlooked the diversity of late Ottoman translation movements, for which translations from German constitute one important part.

In each instance, I show how translations from Ottoman into German and vice versa work against the discursive localization of the Other inherent to Orientalism, and theories of belatedness that are often asserted in literary histories of the late Ottoman Empire, respectively. Chapter One thus establishes the potential of German Turkish translation practices to disrupt dominant discursive frameworks. Subsequent chapters then examine the diverse ways translation has functioned as a mode of critical intervention via a specific German Turkish relationship: I show how Sabahattin Ali's literary translations from German challenged the underpinnings of the Turkish nation-building project in the 1930s and 40s; I read Zafer Şenocak's engagement with the contradictions of Turkish modernity through acts of translation as a critical reconfiguration of postwar Germany memory discourse and ethnocultural definitions of language that have resurfaced following German unification; and I examine Orhan Pamuk's parodistic response to the pressures Turkish literature is up against to conform with Euro-Atlantic expectations of "translatability" on the global market via an imagined relationship between Kars and Frankfurt.

In addressing the historical trajectory of translations between German and Turkish from the early 19th century to the present, I build on the concept of connectivity as it has been utilized in theories of globalization. In his exploration of the intrinsic relationship between globalization and culture, for example, John Tomlinson develops a concept of "complex connectivity" based on the empirical condition of the modern world, or the "rapidly developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependences that characterize modern social life" (1-2). Within this framework, Tomlinson recognizes the impossibility of examining cultural processes as strictly local phenomena; at the same time he is careful to avoid a concept of connectivity that asserts a ubiquitous form of cultural homogenization, or a totalizing conception of the world in which we live. The *complexity* of connections he addresses attest rather to the multi-dimensionality of economic, social, political, cultural, interpersonal, and technological linkages engendered via processes of globalization.

Randall Halle productively utilizes a concept of connectivity to uncover the constantly changing, divergent, and intersecting understandings of Europeanness in the global era. In his description of the EU as a weak union that compels new connections, contacts, and modes of correlation, he delineates the multiple imaginative communities

implicit to the idea of Europe (*Europeanization of Cinema* 13). If European cultural union challenges the validity of the national as a basic category of analysis, what implications does this have for the future of Turkish German Studies in particular? Halle begins to explore this question in his work on the Europeanization of Turkish cinema. Here he proposes an expansion of the field of Turkish German studies to include not simply the history of a minority group in Germany, but rather "the threads and knots of a shared modernity... [and the] long histories of complex connectivities and multivalent identities that are generally ignored within dominant national paradigms of analysis" ("Turkish Cinema" 2-3).

From its critical emergence in the early 1990s, Turkish German Studies has attended to the cultural effects of postwar migration on the German national archive, with a discursive focus on German societal norms, and literature produced in the German language. In his assessment of the field in 2014, David Gramling provocatively considers what "lingers at and beyond the methodological frontiers" ("Thigmotactics" 385) of Turkish German studies in its current formulation. Pointing to the decidedly transnational imaginaries of authors such as Aras Ören, Güney Dal, Zafer Şenocak, and Sabahattin Ali, he views their work as an index to the limits of what scholars have tended to view as relevancy criteria for inclusion in the field, at the forefront of which has been an author's use of the German language. While recognizing the interdisciplinary nature of Turkish German Studies—which addresses issues such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, nationality, citizenship, and religion in postwar Germany—this dissertation aims to join a growing number of studies that push the geographic and temporal boundaries of the field, by rigorously investigating a much longer history of cultural, linguistic, and literary contact across national lines. Such studies, like my own, utilize a multilingual and multidirectional approach by incorporating Turkish- and German-language source materials.[1]

In addressing translation as a unique form of connectivity that is tied to, and that ties together the German and Turkish experiences of modernity, I examine the intersections and divergences of the German and Turkish histories of translation. In doing so, I work against hegemonic vantage points that reduce translations from minor languages such as Turkish into a major European language such as German to a means of validation or consecration. In *The World Republic of Letters*, Pascale Casanova posits this idea through her assertion of a field of "literature" that is invented through its gradual separation from the realm of politics. She characterizes literary history as a series of revolts on the part of writers who resist putting their art in the service of nation-building projects in order to assert an autonomous literary space of their own. Throughout this process of autonomization, one important way in which literatures gain "literary capital" within an international literary realm is through their translation into other languages across the globe. As such, translation becomes part of a struggle for recognition within the World Republic of Letters, and languages become

---

[1] Such studies include Azade Seyhan's comparison of Chicana and Turkish-German women authors (*Writing Outside the Nation,* 2000); Nergis Ertürk's structural comparison of Walter Benjamin and Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar ("Modernity and its Fallen Langauges," 2008); Kader Konuk's analysis of Erich Auerbach in 1940s Istanbul (*East West Mimesis,* 2010); Yasemin Yıldız' in-depth examination of the Turkish historical context in her discussion of German monolingualism (*Beyond the Mother Tongue,* 2012); Deniz Göktürk's work on transnational film studies, digital spectatorships, and institutional frameworks of analysis ("Imagining Europe," 2013 / "Weltkino digital," 2010 / "Projecting Polyphony," 2010, among others); and Randall Halle's work on European production guidelines and practices, and the Europeanization of Turkish cinema (*The Europeanization of Cinema,* 2014). The interdisciplinary edited volume *Orienting Istanbul* (Göktürk et al., 2010) furthermore addresses the diverse political and cultural orientations of Istanbul vis-à-vis Europe as both a global city and as the official European Capital of Culture in 2010.

instruments of power in a configuration of global literary competition.

While the goal of Casanova's overall argument is to view works not in isolation, but in a larger configuration of international texts and aesthetic debates, what this kind of approach to literature ultimately achieves is a reassertion of national literary spaces that are discrete and fundamentally opposed to one another. This is exemplified by Casanova's juxtaposition of a positive model of the *exportation* of translations on the world literary market, to a negative model of the processes of translation within a specific national literature: "For an impoverished target language, which is to say a language on the periphery that looks to import major works of literature, translation is a way of gathering literary resources, of acquiring universal texts and thereby enriching an underfunded literature—in short, a way of diverting literary assets" (134).

In contrast to Casanova's model of competition—which necessarily reduces national literatures to a single unit— Sandra Bermann has suggested the need to rethink translation in terms of a history of instances, or linguistic negotiations occurring over time; itself a border concept in the humanities, Berman views translation as a practice with the power to both perpetuate and transform literary heritage ("Introduction" 6). Antoine Berman further highlights the cultural stakes of a negotiational model of translation in *The Experience of the Foreign*: "The very aim of translation—to open up in writing a certain relation with the Other, to fertilize what is one's Own through the mediation of what is Foreign—is diametrically opposed to the ethnocentric structure of every culture" (4). It is along these lines that I see negotiation as a productive alternative to models of influence or simple importation, which have pre-dominated particularly in Turkish scholarship. Rather than highlighting a *lack* that necessitates translation into a target language, the concept of negotiation addresses the *productive* nature of translation practices.

At the same time, I develop the concept of *internal* negotiation that has become central to the discourse of cultural translation since it emerged in the early 1990s. Closely tied to the problem of representation in cultural anthropology, and the assumed authority of anthropologists to interpret other cultures, the concept of cultural translation positions itself against the notion of culture *in* translation. Whereas the latter posits two distinct and holistic poles of analysis, cultural translation points to the dynamic processes of translation, hybridity, and creolization that are inherent to the construction of culture itself (Bachmann-Medick, 36-37).

Homi Bhabha advanced precisely this understanding of cultural translation in *The Location of Culture* (1994) through his focus on the migrant as a figure that interrupts the metaphor of the nation as an imagined community. As a bearer of newness and ambivalence, the migrant works against narratives of originary subjectivity, highlighting instead sites of cultural difference and contestation (1-2). According to Bhabha, the liminal experience of the migrant is both transitional and *translational*, in that it resists resolution:

> The migrant culture of the 'in-between', the minority position, dramatizes the activity of culture's untranslatability; and in so doing, it moves the question of culture's appropriation beyond the assimilationist's dream, or the racist's nightmare, of a 'full transmissal of subject-matter', and towards an encounter with the ambivalent process of splitting and hybridity that marks the identification with culture's difference. (224)

In her discussion of contemporary Turkish German literature, Leslie Adelson has criticized this very trope of in-betweenness, by showing how the common representation of

Turkish migrants as "between two worlds" has actually served to essentialize two assumed "German" and "Turkish" populations ("Against Between" 267-269). Recognizing the validity of this criticism, I argue that we can utilize the concept of cultural translation as a productive negotiation of Self and Other to conceive not of an interstitial third space within German culture, but rather myriad points of translational contact and connection across national lines. This both dislodges the study of contemporary Turkish German literature from the national space of Germany and highlights a much longer history of cultural interactions that do not rely on a model of original vs. translation/copy.

In this approach I am indebted to Walter Benjamin's foundational essay, "Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers" [1923, "The Task of the Translator"], which has influenced diverse deconstructionists (Jacques Derrida and Paul de Man), postcolonial scholars (Tejaswini Niranjana), and theorists of cultural translation (Homi Bhabha, Gayatri Spivak, and Emily Apter) alike. In this essay, Benjamin advances numerous metaphors that reconfigure the relationship of source and target language texts. Rather than a form of one to one correspondence, Benjamin describes translation as tangential—touching its source text fleetingly (*flüchtig*) at a single point, after which it is free to follow its own course of development (97). However small or brief, translation thus serves as a crucial point of *contact* between two texts that has the power to transform both the original and the translation in the process, and to ensure that the original lives on (*überleben/fortleben*) in a new context.

In its theorization of this relationship, Benjamin's essay also serves as an extended reflection on the concept of translatability. Rather than attempting to cover (*verdecken*) its source text, a true translation strives for a complementary relationship to it. Contrary to traditional models of fidelity, which aim to reproduce the meaning of the original as exactly as possible, Benjamin's understanding of translation highlights the impossibility of complete transfer, which is tantamount to the erasure of difference. Translation should strive, on the contrary, to express the innermost relation between languages (81). This idea is alternately expressed through Benjamin's concept of a "pure language" (*reine Sprache*), which he visualizes through the image of a broken vessel, the pieces of which have been reunited, but between which cracks remain (92). Made visible through translation, the reciprocal relationship of languages is expressed through this image of unity that is nevertheless sustained through differences. From the initial moment of contact, translation thus sets into motion a process that renders each side of the translational exchange vulnerable to transformation via its relationship to the Other. It both enacts a negotiation of differences, and makes visible the core elements of a text (*das Wesentliche*) that resist translation. What emerges from Benjamin's essay is thus a theory of translatability that elaborates on precisely those elements of a text that are *un*translatable.

In recent years, the concept of untranslatability has been taken up with new theoretical rigor. In her focus on moments of incomparability, translation failure, mis- and non-translation, for example, Emily Apter argues in *Against World Literature* (2013) for a concept of the "untranslatable, not as pure difference in opposition to the always translatable… but as a linguistic form of creative failure" (20). Apter builds here on Barbara Cassin's understanding of *intraduisibles* as concepts that give rise to ceaseless linguistic inventions through the never-ending processes of imperfect translation they demand. Untranslatability as such does not uphold essential, insurmountable differences between languages, but calls for the constant negotiation of difference as it attests to the radical heterogeneity of language itself.

The translations and fictional texts I examine in this dissertation all intervene in the specific paradigms of un/translatability within which they were produced. Chapter One shows how the first Ottoman translations of Goethe worked against the implied untranslatability of western European source texts into the Ottoman realm and the perceived inadequacy of the Ottoman language to properly convey western ideas and philosophical concepts. Through their linguistic experimentations, Goethe's Ottoman translators reveal rather their own positions as agents of a language in flux. Chapter Two examines in turn Sabahattin Ali's critical intervention in the paradigm of smooth translatability central to the model of modernization as westernization in the early Turkish Republican era. Through his own work as translator, Ali undermined conceptions of the "West" and of western values as given, monolithic entities that could be transferred to Turkey at face value.

Chapters Two, Three, and Four further consider narrative gaps and metaphoric absences as sites of un/translatability that negotiate a Turkish German relationship. In his theory of reader-response criticism, Wolfgang Iser describes such textual "Leerstellen" [gaps] as sites of indeterminacy (*Akt des Lesens* 284) that are central to the development of the narrative. As readers fill in the gaps of a text, they are confronted with the fact that no reading can ever exhaust its narrative possibilities. On the contrary, by filling in a gap, the reader "implicitly acknowledges the inexhaustibility that forces him to make [this] decision" ("The Reading Process" 285). Akşit Göktürk addresses a similar problem in the translation of literary texts that resist easy comprehension. Textual ambiguities, he argues, correspond to a text's relative untranslatability; as a form of interpretation, the actual act of translation thus attests to the impossibility of perfect equivalence ("Übersetzung" 134-35). The texts I address in this dissertation all reveal a similar, interpretive power of translation that simultaneously acknowledges itself as only one potential version of many; as such, they underscore the meaning of translation as a continual *process* rather than an end product.

This idea is poignantly expressed through Zafer Şenocak's conception of an *Übersetzungsraum* [translational space], which I discuss in Chapter Three, as a site of linguistic openness. In contrast to the concept of a third, or hybrid language, Şenocak identifies the creative potential of a linguistic space in which languages are able to freely interact, move toward and translate one other (*Deutschsein* 20). Within this space the German and Turkish languages are free to both touch and pull apart, highlighting potential gaps that emerge between languages during the translation process. While such gaps formulate one instance of the untranslatable, they do not posit essential differences between German and Turkish; they serve rather as openings to negotiate personal, historical, religious-ideological, and linguistic borders.

NON-SYNCHRONOUS HISTORIES OF TRANSLATION

The theoretical underpinnings of this dissertation address the potential of translations to intervene in dominant paradigms of analysis such as Orientalism, ethnocultural discourses of language and memory, and paradigms of un/translatability. My selection of texts is furthermore informed by the similar, if non-synchronous role, large-scale translation movements played in the formation of German and Turkish national-cultural identities. Throughout the trajectory of this dissertation, I thus investigate the similarities, differences, and intersections between these two histories of translation that have rarely been considered in connection with one another.

In both the German and Turkish instances, widespread practices of translation generated a variety of new scholarly forms and literary genres. In the *Tanzimat*, or

"reorganization" period of the Ottoman Empire (1839-1876), a series of state-sponsored modernizing reforms modeled largely on European practices marked an important paradigm shift in the history of Ottoman translation. Whereas literary translations had previously been largely from Arabic and Persian poetry, the *Tanzimat* period saw the first translations of Western European source texts. İbrahim Şinasi's collected translation of classical French poetry (*Tercüme-i Manzume / Translations of Verse*) in 1859 set the stage for the dominant role French literature would play in the late 19th-century field of Ottoman translations. Yet many smaller acts of translation targeted languages as diverse as English, German, Russian, Italian, Latin, Polish, Belgian, Danish, and Greek—attesting to a lively and dynamic emergent translation practice. With the introduction of new literary genres into the Turkish context —such as the novel, the short story, and literary criticism—these translations laid the foundation for the formation of modern Turkish literature, and were at the forefront of debates regarding language and cultural reform.

Following the establishment of the modern Republic of Turkey in 1923, the government instated a series of modernizing cultural reforms based on the model of the Western nation-state. These reforms were also underscored by diverse modalities of translation. In 1928, the Perso-Arabic script of Ottoman was replaced with a completely phonetic Latin alphabet. The following period of radical language reform that ensued can be read as an attempt to "translate" Ottoman Turkish—a hybrid of Turkish, Arabic, and Persian elements—into a "pure" Turkish (*öz Türkçe*), by replacing foreign (mainly Persian and Arabic) vocabulary with Turkish words or neologisms. Finally, the 1940s saw the initiation of a World Literature in Translation series (*Dünya Edebiyatından Tercümeler*) by the Turkish Minster of Culture Hasan Ali Yücel. Through the establishment of a government-sponsored translation bureau, this series was responsible for the translation of 1,247 works of world literature between the years 1940-1966 (Gürçağlar, "Revisiting" 114).

Amidst this very systematized government-run translation project, leading scholars of the early Republican period—such as İsmail Habib and Hilmi Ziya Ülken—criticized earlier Tanzimat translation movements in the mid to late 19th century of being haphazard, ineffective, and incomplete. Both Habib and Ülken criticized Tanzimat authors for merely copying the west by superficially importing European institutions and literary genres. Such criticism was central to the assertion of a modern, secular, and *original* Turkish identity that identified itself with Europe, over and against the image of an outdated, Islamic-oriented Ottoman Empire. Yet in asserting the idea that a "complete" translation of Western literature and/or Western culture was possible—and indeed that such a project would be undertaken via the translation bureau—inevitably led to an understanding of the "West" as an originary model, in relation to which Turkish translations were seen as both derivative and belated.

Comparing this history of translation to the German context can help to counter perceptions of a belated Turkish modernity that arise from accusations of Ottoman culture as derivative to a Western model. A study of the important role translation played in the formation of a modern German national and literary culture reveals accusations of the Turkish novel's inferior status due to its genesis through translation as illogical. The development of a German national literary self-awareness can be traced to the precedent of Luther's Bible, which established a common literary language *through* the act of translation. Luther's translational style was deemed an important expansion of the German language, and he was seen as both a reformer and a creator of language by many 18th-century scholars. Antoine Berman discusses, in particular, the importance of Luther's translations for the German concept of *Bildung* in *The Experience of the Foreign*. Here Berman argues that a

sense of German national self-awareness developed not only through contact with the foreign, but also by *passing through* the foreign in translation. Translation thus engenders a process of alienation that ultimately leads to self-understanding (11-13).

Indeed, the late 18th and early 19th centuries witnessed an unprecedented amount of translation in the German context. During this time period, translations from other European and "Oriental" literatures, as well as biblical and classical texts, paved the way for the fields of philology, comparative grammar, textual criticism, and hermeneutics. The emergence of diverse theories of translation as a journey abroad (Herder), as a form of enhancement (Schlegel), and as mode of rewriting (Hölderlin), marked a paradigm shift from an early 18th-century emphasis on questions of fidelity, to early Romantic conceptions of the translator as a creative genius.

As early as 1768, Herder quoted Thomas Abbt regarding the idea that the job of a genuine translator is more than the simple transmission of foreign content. Herder elevates the translator rather to the rank of a classic author, who must be "a creative genius, in order to satisfy both the original and his own language" (qtd in Berman 40). Herder alternately describes this kind of ideal translation as a "Homeric translation," meaning a translation that does not simply show the Germans how Homer is, but also "how he could be *for us*" (qtd in Berman 40). He sets this model of translation specifically against the French assimilative model of translation which dominated in Germany throughout the Enlightenment. In doing so, Herder transforms what begins as a model of competition with the French into a model of translation as a site of internal negotiation.

Voss' breakthrough translation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* paved the way for the kind of translation Herder envisioned, establishing a new stage in German translation theory and practice. In addition to his close attention to the syntax, word order, and forms of original words in the Greek, he also reproduced a very close approximation of Greek hexameter in German. While Klopstock had previously introduced Greek forms into German, even he was highly critical of Voss' translation, arguing that Voss' translation of the Iliad "had done violence to the idiom of the Germans, and had sacrificed it to the Greeks" (qtd in Louth 26). Despite this initial criticism, Voss' close attention to form revealed a new flexibility in the German language that had been previously thought impossible, and by 1798 his translations had indeed come to be regarded as classics. Goethe, above all, praised Voss' translations for their versatility and rhythmical quality, revealing important shifts in style and taste that were occurring already in the 1780s.

In Voss' increasing attention to form, his use of German becomes decidedly less idiomatic. What is particularly interesting about this method is that it enacts a form of precise *imitation* in its attempt to capture the Greek hexameter in German. This practice is nevertheless seen as a positive transformative process. Humboldt, who was highly influenced by Voss' attention to questions of meter, expresses the significance of these ideas for a conception of German literature in the introduction to his translation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1816).

While the overarching focus of Humboldt's introduction is actually a theory of untranslatability, he nevertheless uses metaphors regarding the relationship of source and target texts to express the unique capacities of the German language. Very much in line with the Herderian notion of an essential relationship between language and culture, Humboldt's theory of untranslatability is based not simply on the original nature of the work being translated, but also on the very nature of language. He argues that no word is completely equivalent to a word in another language; at best, words that intend the same object can be

understood as synonyms (137). According to Humboldt, a word represents less a single sign for a concept (*Zeichen eines Begriffs*) than a network of ideas or a process of thinking. The word is both an individual and a collective being: within the text, it is the manifestation of a specific artist's imagination; yet it is also a word that has developed within specific cultural circumstances, and is thus essentially national in character. Rather than understanding this as an obstacle, Humboldt sees this essential uniqueness of the original as a characteristic that demands translation, despite the seeming impossibility of this task. He develops a theory of fidelity that *aims* at precise imitation, even though the text can never be perfectly imitated in another language.

Nevertheless, it is on precisely these differences between nationally determined languages that Humboldt develops a theory of translation as one of the key ways through which linguistic expansion takes place. Humboldt compares the translator to a poet, each playing a crucial role in the development of a national literature, and leading "zur Erweiterung der Bedeutsamkeit und der Ausdrucksfähigkeit der eigenen Sprache" [138, to the expansion of the significance and expressive capacity of one's own language].

As a prime example of this process, Humboldt cites Voss' innovative translations of Homer, which utilized German in ways previously thought formally impossible. Humboldt identifies hexameter as a defining feature of the Greek national character, which thus far only the Germans have been able to successfully render into their language (144). Whereas Humboldt is careful within his introduction not to establish a crude hierarchy of languages according to their relative expressive power (139), he describes German as possessing a certain flexibility or openness to the foreign that other languages do not. This understanding of the German language as uniquely open to, and receptive of the foreign, was central to the surge in translation activity at the turn of the century, and a subsequent regeneration of German language and culture.

In contrast to the conservative Romantic discovery of a national and Christian past, a burgeoning German interest in translation was reflected in Romanticism's conception of its own time as both fractured and incomplete. Rather than simply understanding its own modern condition as a repudiation of the past, the Romantic tradition set itself more specifically against classicism, or the very possibility of a classic, timeless work (Jauss 49); on the contrary, the modern came to be understood as a state of unfinished reflection.

Although Goethe was a leading author of Weimar Classism, there is significant overlap between his conception of *Weltliteratur* and the Romantic conception of modernity. The system of circulation and exchange inherent to world literature not only necessitates an *active* coexistence of all contemporary literatures, but also a fundamental reconsideration of the relationship of the (national) Self to the Other. Goethe not only argues that any national literature would exhaust itself without the counter-perspective of translation, he also sees translation as an act of giving up the "originality" of the translator's nation in the process of identifying with the source language. In each case, the original text/nation is figured as fundamentally *incomplete* without its translation. Processes of translation are thus central to Goethe's proclamation of "a common world literature transcending national boundaries" (qtd in Strich 349-50).

In his examination of the historical conditions under which Goethe's concept of *Weltliteratur* emerged, John Pizer notes the critical and precarious role Germany played within it. Some fifty years prior to the establishment of a nation-state, Goethe developed this term in a time period when Germany existed as a *Kulturnation*, or a shared cultural realm bound together by language and tradition rather than political rights provided by the state. As

such, Germans enjoyed a certain clarity of perspective as they were not bound to a fixed national-political identity. It is for this very reason, however, that Germans potentially had the most to lose (Strich 397); in the absence of a cultural-political center, Germans could not develop into classical national authors, and were in danger of losing themselves in the expansiveness of world literature (Pizer 6).

Goethe's earlier essay "Literarischer Sanscülottismus" [1795, Literary Sansculottism] foregrounds Germany's contradictory position in the world of world literature. Countering accusations of the poverty of German classical prose, Goethe states here that the conditions necessary for a classical author to come into being had not yet been achieved in Germany. These conditions all revolve around the existence of a specific *Nationalgeist* that has been produced through the highest level of culture, is marked by social and political unity at the national level, and is capable of inspiring a writer's inherent genius to sympathize with the nation's past and present. Without denying the positive influence "foreign" literatures have had in the German realm, Goethe implicitly criticizes the influential role French classicism played in hindering Germans from developing as "Germans" earlier on (18). Within this context, he calls for a positive reappraisal of the accomplishments of German literature in the absence of a unified national culture and political state. He argues for the need to view each individual author according to his own education and circumstances, rather than from the perspective of a unified sense of Germanness.

These historical groundings for the concept of *Weltliteratur* provide an important counterpoint to the late Ottoman context. 19th-century Ottoman authors not only felt a similar sense of inferiority toward the French, they also highly debated the conditions necessary for the production of a classical author, which were generally posited to be lacking. In negotiating the relative expressive capacity of the Ottoman language, I argue in Chapter One on the contrary that late Ottoman translators actually engaged in an emergent form of literary criticism central to the development of modern Turkish literature. Following Goethe's own appraisal of the German literary realm in the early 18th century, I read the linguistically divergent Ottoman translations of Goethe as an expression of contested understandings of Ottomanness, rather than as emblematic of an absent, unified national perspective.

Subsequent chapters address the changing implications of *Weltliteratur* through the contemporary moment, and assert the need to work against Eurocentric models of world literature that relegate Turkish texts to its periphery. In Chapter Two I examine the World Literature in Translation publication series sponsored by the government in 1940s Turkey; within a top-down process of cultural reform, a paradigm of world literature as a timeless canon of largely western European classics emerged. Through my readings of Sabahattin Ali's translations for this series, I show how he develops a reader-based, bottom-up model of world literature that countered the Eurocentric nature of leading translation rhetoric in this time period. In conclusion, Chapter Four reads Orhan Pamuk's 2002 novel *Kar* [*Snow*, 2005] as a commentary on the limits of a contemporary discourse of world literature predicated on an outdated "First" and "Third World" ideology, in which Third World authors are destined to allegorical modes of representation. I show here how Pamuk deftly negotiates the pressures Turkish literature is up against on the global market to be translatable, or to render itself in accordance with Euro-Atlantic desires for an "authentic" Turkish voice.

UNBOUNDING COMPARISON

Whereas German authors used translation to posit a unique sense of cosmopolitan Germanness, Turkish authors viewed translation as a sign of their literary belatedness vis-à-vis the "West." At the center of my research is the question of how comparing the Turkish history of translation to the German context can help to counter perceptions of a belated Turkish modernity that arise from accusations of Ottoman culture as derivative to a Western model. This comparison is informed by the discourse of belatedness in the German context. Helmut Plessner's depiction of Germany as a belated nation in *Die verspätete Nation* (1935/1959) intended to explain the failure of democracy and liberalism following WWI and the rise of National Socialism in Germany. Whereas England and France attained their modern form as nation-state during the Enlightenment, the foundation of the *Deutsches Kaiserreich* and the establishment of the German nation-state first occurred under Bismark in 1871 following the Industrial Revolution. As such, he argued that Germany eventually became "ein Machtstaat ohne humanistisches Rechtfertigungsbedürfnis" (qtd in Winkler) [an authoritarian state without the need for humanistic justification]. Among those who have challenged Plessner's theory, Reinhart Koselleck questions its teleological implications. Whereas the concept of belatedness implies that one has not adhered to a given schedule, Koselleck asks more specifically who determines the time-table and final destination a nation-state is expected to follow and orient itself toward (359-380).

Following the contours of this debate, this dissertation seeks to avoid a strictly linear comparison of the German and Turkish histories of translation; linearity perpetuates a conceptualization of modernity and processes of modernization along scales of development, through which a certain group's present is defined as another group's future.[2] This, together with modernity's claim to an ever-changing "newness" has created an insurmountable temporal gap that fuels theories of belatedness. Within this context, the very concept of comparison has become a paralyzing feature of Turkey's encounter with a specific understanding of modernity anchored in the "West."

In developing new models of comparison that can work against this framework, my dissertation is informed by the famously significant role of German Turkish relations for the development of Comparative Literature in its contemporary guise. Edward Said, Aamir R. Mufti, and Emily Apter have all traced the birth of the field to scholarship by German-Jewish émigrés in 1930s Istanbul. Whether depicted as a site of intellectual isolation or a hotbed of worldly linguistic exchanges, all credit Istanbul for producing the conditions under which a new kind of comparative philological scholarship with a global scope could emerge. Turkey has nevertheless largely remained an "absent presence"[3] in the field of comparative literature. Despite Istanbul's significance as an imagined site of inception, an overwhelming amount of the "comparative" scholarship on this unique historical moment focuses on the work of European academic exiles.

Kader Konuk's *East West Mimesis: Auerbach in Istanbul*, takes an important step in undoing this trend by examining Istanbul in all of its specificity, rather than as an abstract

---

[2] Timothy Mitchell examines this problematic in "Staging modernity." Due to western claims to both uniqueness and singularity, he argues, "Modernity… seems to form a distinctive time-space, appearing in the homogenous shape of the West and characterized by an immediacy of presence that we recognize as the "now" of history" (23). This necessarily creates a center/ periphery relationship in which the "non-west" has been fated to "mimic, never quite successfully, the history already performed by the West" (1).

[3] I borrow this term from Nergis Ertürk. For her discussion of the term see: Ertürk, Nergis. "Modernity and Its Fallen Languages: Tanpınar's Hasret, Benjamin's Melancholy." *PMLA* 123, no. 1 (2008): 41–56.

concept in the background of European theoretical texts. In doing so, she works against the standard framework of exilic studies that figure Auerbach's *Mimesis* as a product of intellectual isolation. Her understanding of exile as a "condition of multiple attachments" (13) suggests rather the need to consider the historicity of the exile's experiences, as well as the material conditions of his existence.

This reading is in contrast to Said's reference to a long history of western European Orientalist representations of the "Terrible Turk" as the absolute Other, due to the perceived threat of the Ottoman Empire on Christian Europe. Konuk argues on the contrary, that we need to look beyond these dominant tropes of representation and consider the various forms of contact and exchange that have occurred between Europeans and the Ottoman Empire in order to arrive at a better understanding of Auerbach's position in Istanbul (14). Through references to Auerbach's letters, as well as records at the University of Istanbul and the German consulate in Istanbul, Konuk reveals that Auerbach did not necessarily see Turkey as the antithesis of European humanism. In contrast, he referred to Istanbul as a fundamentally Hellenistic city, specifically in his references to the remnants of the Byzantine Empire and the variety of archival resources available to him there.

At the same time that Konuk refutes the possibility of an autochthonous Turkish identity, emphasizing the important role émigrés played in reclaiming Turkey's classical heritage, she asserts the importance of recognizing Turks as agents, rather than victims of westernization (7). Comparing Turkey to Egypt, which has a history of Anglo-French colonial influence, Konuk points to the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, and its autonomous decision to undergo processes of modernization. Throughout her study, she nevertheless reveals how Turkey functions *ex-negativo* within Auerbach's *Mimesis*; it is through the omission of Turkish literature in this foundational work of contemporary Comparative Literature, she argues, that the concept of a "bounded" Judeo-Christian world can emerge (16).

Taking the international exchanges in 1930s Istanbul as a moment of historical potential, this dissertation extends both backward and forward in time to consider the significance of the German Turkish translational relationship for the contemporary fields of Comparative Literature, Translation-, German-, and Turkish Studies—and for the concept of comparison itself. In an attempt to give Turkey a *full* presence in the field, it asks what kind of comparison this requires: Is it possible to engage in an "unbounded" form of comparison that does not essentialize the objects under analysis?

This question is problematized by the role that Germany and Turkey have traditionally been understood to occupy on the center and periphery of a global modernity, respectively. As Pheng Cheah has observed, the very concept of comparison has traditionally assumed two discrete geographical or cultural areas and has historically employed a Eurocentric perspective. While underscoring the importance of challenging Eurocentrism, Cheah also notes that simply taking an initial referent from outside of the North Atlantic does not undo the fundamental problems of comparison ("Grounds of Comparison").

Nergis Ertürk has responded to this problematic in her examination of crises in language as manifested in the works of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar and Walter Benjamin. By reading linguistic crisis not simply as a modernist theme, but as "a structural condition of the modern" ("Modernity" 6), Ertürk engages in a method of comparison that provides a "supplementary vision of literary modernity in which neither Europe nor Turkey stands for the telos of the modern; rather, each of these placeholders diffuses into the other in a partial narrative of two simultaneously entwined and disparate histories of language in crisis"

("Modernity" 4). Drawing on the scholarship of Anderson, Cheah, and Mitchell, Ertürk's approach works against center-periphery models that emphasize a Euro-American modernity and its "outside," by revealing what she sees as the inherently *comparative* nature of both the German and Turkish literary fields.

Whereas Ertürk utilizes this idea to place Turkish and German authors who historically "missed" one another in conversation, my dissertation examines different kinds of German-Turkish *contact* and *connections* engendered in and by translation. In doing so I develop a concept of translational connectivity informed by Wolfgang Welsch's call to think of modern cultures "beyond the contraposition of ownness and foreignness" in terms of a transculturality that attests rather to their "inner differentiation and complexity" (16). Posited as a corrective to terms such as inter- and multicultural, Welsch's use of the term *trans*cultural works against container models of identity; it calls attention rather to networks and connections that entail new forms of diversity with both overlap and distinction. My understanding of *translational* connectivity attests further to a network of literary connections with *textual* specificity, in which individual acts of translation have the potential to intervene not only in the target, but also the source culture.

Throughout my dissertation, I address a broad range of translation practices—including actual translations, literary texts that theorize translation, and the staging of world literature in translation through major events such as the Frankfurt Book Fair. My emphasis on translation as both an inherently creative act and a critical lens through which to read texts is informed by the plethora of scholarly research that has emerged since the "cultural turn" in translation studies, as declared by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere in *Translation, History and Culture* (1990). I situate translation practices within a nexus of texts and literary-historical events, arguing that translations are both embedded within the social world that produced them, and open to processes of negotiation regarding the (national) self.

My case studies reveal that large-scale translation movements were central to the development of distinct understandings of German- and Turkishness that *preceded* the establishment of the nation-state; at the same time I trace the subsequent role large-scale translation movements played in the discursive production of both German and Turkish literary and national-cultural identities. Considering the nation-state as a key social formation of global modernity, my dissertation asks how instances of German Turkish connectivity reveal translation itself to constitute an experience of modernity. Unlike the concept of modernity *in translation*—which posits an imagined one-way transfer of modernity from West to East—this framework reveals a sense of agency on both sides of a German Turkish translational exchange.

In contrast to the theory of multiple modernities (Eisenstadt 2000)—which posits an original diversity or plurality of socio-political constellations, and thereby also takes the assumption of historical separateness as a starting point—my case studies exhibit complex connections across the German and Turkish histories of translation. They exhibit what Aamir R. Mufti terms "deep encounters" between "western" languages and the languages of the "global periphery" that transform both cultural formations involved. As Mufti emphasizes, such encounters did not take place for the first time with the advancement of the global, or the post-colonial eras, but rather at the dawn of the modern era itself ("Orientalism" 460).

By tracing an entangled history of translational connectivity across time periods and traditions, I emphasize the heterogeneity of such encounters through a focus on omni-directional translation practices, and moments of contact across non-synchronous histories of translation: I read the first Ottoman translations of Goethe (1884), for example, in relation to

Goethe's own engagement with Ottoman texts earlier in the century (1814-15); I question how Sabahattin Ali's translations of Kleist are related to his own literary criticisms of modernity in the mid 20th century, and how the 2008 translation of Ali into German reflects on the contemporary field of Turkish German literature.

As such, I chart something similar to what Theo D'haen describes as the elliptical nature of translational relationships. In the spirit of David Damrosch, who has charted literary relationships as waves through space and time, Theo D'haen suggests the possibility of sketching the relationship between two literatures, "not as a circle with one focus... but as an ellipse, spanning two foci, one in its original location and culture, and the other in its new environment" (416). Within this framework, any given work of literature can participate in diverse relationships across space and time, thereby partaking in multiple ellipses that attain to both synchronic and diachronic relationships.

My emphasis on omni-directional translation practices does not deny the uneven circulation of texts in translation. As Esra Akcan has argued in her depiction of Turkish architectural adaptations modeled on German practices, "translation is the very medium that exposes not only the formal but also the epistemological and ethical dimensions of cultural interactions" (14). It both enables cultural exchange, at the same time that it reveals inequalities, geopolitical tensions, and psychological anxieties.

At the same time, I show how disparate systems of cultural valuation are slowly being overturned through events such as Orhan Pamuk's winning of the Nobel Prize in 2006, and the Frankfurt Book Fair's decision to host Turkey as a Guest of Honor in 2008. In particular, the Fair's official portrayal of translation as a multidirectional process of cultural mediation, and its rhetorical emphasis on cultural plurality, speak to Şenocak's inclusion of Camus in a long list of famous German authors. It suggests the need to reconsider the value of a long-standing German Turkish translational relationship for the configuration of Turkish German Studies in the present.

CONTEMPORARY TRANSLATION INITIATIVES

My interest in developing a theory of German Turkish translational connectivity is inspired by the surge in translation activity from Turkish into German in the 21st century. In comparison to a total of 260 publications prior to 1989, an impressive number of 750 books—549 of which belong to the field of belles-lettres—were translated from Turkish into German between 1990 and 2010.[4] The years 2006-2010 account for nearly 52% of these titles, with a total of 389 publications. A peak number of translations occurred in 2008 (139 titles) to coincide with Turkey's presence at the Frankfurt Book Fair (Özkan 5-6). In the following, I consider the state of translations from Turkish into German throughout the 20th century, and address a number of factors that have contributed to this sharp increase in translation activity in the past 10-15 years in particular.

In 1983, Pia Angela Göktürk identified three decisive phases for the reception of Turkish literature in German translation: 1) the late 18th and early 19th centuries, with a growing German academic interest in the literatures of the Orient 2) the time period between WWI and the early 1940s, which was marked by German curiosity for the literature of the

---

[4] This number contains 228 children's titles, and 216 novels. Remaining translations have been in the field of Social Sciences (201 titles), and Sociology (21 titles). In total, 137 of thesse titles (17%) were published in the 1990s (Özkan 5-6).

new Turkish Republic, and 3) the 1970s, throughout which a limited interest in modern Turkish literature, music, art, and theater slowly began to develop following mass migrations of Turkish workers to Germany (160-63). Notably, Zafer Şenocak describes the field of Turkish literature as *terra incognita* for the general German public in the time period between phases two and three. Translations belonged to a niche market, and only select authors achieved a relatively well-known status in translation. In the DDR, the literature of Nazım Hikmet und Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca enjoyed a small audience, for example, and the literature of Yaşar Kemal was well received in the Federal Republic, due to excellent translations by Cornelius Bischoff, Helga Dağyeli-Bohne, and Yıldırım Dağyeli. To date, Yaşar Kemal remains the most represented Turkish author in Germany—with 24 translated works on the market ("Terra Incognita").

The image of Turkey presented in this time period was nevertheless largely that of an outdated, traditional society on the European periphery. While select realist short stories by authors such as Fakir Baykurt and Orhan Kemal were taken up by smaller publishing houses, the cosmopolitan literature of Sait Faik Abasıyanık, for example, did not find a publisher until 1991, with the appearance of *Ein Punkt auf der Landkarte* (*Harita'da bir Nokta* / *A Dot on the Map,* Dağyeli Verlag). Even into the 1990s, Deniz Göktürk relates the difficulty of finding a publisher for experimental, (post)modernist Turkish authors. After translating Bilge Karasu's *Göçmüş Kediler Bahçesi* [1979, *The Garden of Departed Cats*], for example, she notes that established German publishing houses did not take it up on that the grounds that there was no readership: "Such efforts to introduce *to Europe* writers who imagine the essence of Europe regularly ended in impasse" she writes, "as we grappled with the challenge of presenting a new image of Turkey via literature and other arts" ("Imagining" 131).

Edited by Deniz Göktürk and Zafer Şenocak, *Jedem Wort gehört ein Himmel* [1991, *A Sky Belongs to Every Word*] is one notable volume of translations that aimed to do precisely this. As the first book of the newly founded Babel Verlag, this anthology grew out of a series of literary evenings at the Literarisches Colloquium in Berlin that aimed to introduce contemporary Turkish authors such as Murathan Mungan, Orhan Pamuk, Bilge Karasu, and Fazıl Hüsnü Dağlarca to a German-speaking audience. In their introduction to this collection, Göktürk and Şenocak note the constraints of an institutional framework that continues to house Turkology within departments of Islamic Studies or *Orientalistik*. Such strict categorization cannot do justice to modern Turkish authors' complex interactions with European philosophy and literature, which are marked by the deep transformations Turkish society undertook in the 20th century (7-8).

In contrast to the lacuna of translation in the immediate postwar period—and the niche market for translations that developed in the 1970s and 80s through smaller publishing houses[5] such as Literaturca, Ararat, Express-Edition, Dağyeli, Rotbuch, and Verlag am Galgenberg—Turkish literature of the new Republic had enjoyed a positive reception during the interwar years in Germany. This time period was marked by a general curiosity and enthusiasm for the modernizing efforts of the Kemalist regime; works by major early Republican authors such as Halide Edip Adıvar and Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu were

---

[5] Yüksel Pazarkaya's translation of the lyric poetry of Orhan Veli Kanık was one translational success that broke out of the niche market. Published by Dağyeli Verlag in Frankfurt am Main, the bilingual edition *Garip/Fremdartig* (1985) received critical acclaim. It was the first translation from Turkish to be listed as number one on the SWR-Bestenliste, a monthly publication of top picks selected by a jury of 31 literary critics.

translated shortly after their original publications and enjoyed a small but positive reception.[6] Şenocak attributes this general curiosity to several factors. In addition to the German Turkish alliance in WWI, the Berlin-Bagdad railway created new cultural connections as German engineers traveled to Turkey to work on the project, and Turkish students and merchants came to Germany to study and work ("Terra Incognita").

One notable project that began at the turn of the century and continued well into the Weimar Republic was the *Türkische Bibliothek* [1904-1929, Turkish Library], which produced a diverse volume of 26 translations ranging from the literature of late 19th-century authors and journalists such as Ahmet Mithat and Mehmet Tevfik, to folk literature and the oral stories of Turkish Meddahs, as well as scholarly texts on Ottoman history and Islamic mysticism. This series was put out by the Mayer and Müller Verlag in Leipzig, and overseen by the Orientalist Georg Jakob, who is generally recognized as the founder of the modern field of Turkology in Germany. [7]

101 years following the initiation of this project, a second *Türkische Bibliothek* (2005-2010) aimed to present a similar diversity of texts to a contemporary German readership. Funded by the Robert Bosch Stiftung, this translation project grew out of the program *Völkerverständigung Europa und seine Nachbarn* [Mutual Understanding Amongst the Peoples of Europe and Its Neighbors], which placed an emphasis on German Turkish relations starting in 2003. Under the direction of Turkologists Erika Glassen (University of Freiburg) and Jens Peter Laut (University of Göttingen), the *Türkische Bibliothek* brought out 20 volumes of Turkish literature from across the 20th century with the well-established Swiss publishing house Unionsverlag.

Noting the previously subjective selection of translations from Turkish into German, the *Türkische Bibliothek* aimed to systematically select texts (*systematische Auswahl*), in order to provide the best possible overview (*Gesamtüberblick*) of modern Turkish literature in its limited number of 20 volumes (Glassen 292). While the *Türkisch Bibliothek* only produced a fraction of translations in comparison to the World Literature in Translation series funded by the Turkish government in the mid-20th century (1,247 translations, 1940-1966), the rhetoric surrounding these projects is strikingly similar. Each propose to fill a gap in translation history through recourse to a program of systematicity. Erika Glassen furthermore describes the project of the *Türkische Bibliothek* as a form of *Kulturtransfer* [cultural transfer], which echoes the early Turkish Republican understanding of translation as a form of *kültür aktarımı* [cultural transfer], and its belief in the smooth translatability of western European humanism into the Turkish context as part of the larger Turkish nation-building project.[8]

Similar to the Republican translation project—which was accompanied by the creation of *Tercüme*, a journal of translation studies that helped to produce a critical discourse for the larger movement by encouraging scholarly discussion across languages— the *Türkische Bibliothek* also produced a range of secondary materials to accompany its translations. These include critical forewords and/or afterwords to each volume by leading

---

[6] Adıvar's *Yeni Turan* [1912, The New Turan], was translated as early as 1916 as *Das Neue Turan. Ein türkisches Frauenschicksal. Ateşten Gömlek* [1922, *Shirt of Flame*], was translated just two years after its original publication as *Das Flammenhemd*, and published in 1925 by the Interterritorialer Verlag Renaissance in Vienna. Karaosmanoğlu's *Yaban* [1932, The Stranger], was translated as *Der Fremdling* in 1939.

[7] I have found no secondary scholarship on this series to date. The complete listing of texts included in the series can be found through a basic search for "Türkische Bibliothek" in the WorldCat Library system.

[8] For an in-depth discussion of translation and the Turkish nation-building project see Chapter Two of this dissertation.

scholars of Turkology and Turkish literature, study guides for high school teachers who wish to incorporate Turkish literature into their classrooms, reading tours, library exhibits, and cultural events staged over a five year period across the country. These materials highlight above all the diversity of the material at hand, and the multiple possible ways to read the translations against one another through themes such as gender, individualism and society, or the role of Istanbul in modern Turkish literature.

With its dedication to translational excellence and the diverse forms of publicity it provided, the *Türkische Bibliothek* has achieved a significant level of visibility for foundational, but previously untranslated works of the modern Turkish canon, ranging from Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil's turn-of-the-century *Aşk-ı Memnu* (1900) [*Verbotene Lieben,* 2007 / *Forbidden Love*], to Ahmet Hamdi Tanınpar's epic *Huzur* (1949) [*Seelenfrieden,* 2008 / *A Mind at Peace,* 2008], and Leyla Erbil's central text for Turkish feminism *Tuhaf bir Kadın* (1971) [*Eine Seltsame Frau*, 2010 / *A Strange Woman*].

Yet it is precisely the diversity of this translation project that arguably contradicts Erika Glassen's suggestion that one target audience of the *Türkische Bibliothek* are second and third generation Turkish youth in search of their cultural roots (*kulturelle Wurzeln*), or original homeland (*ursprüngliche Heimat* 297). On the contrary, the project as a whole uncovers the very contradictions of Turkish literary modernity that make it impossible to locate an originary "home" culture. At the same time, the project's express valuation of Turkey's literary diversity undermines its central goals of systematicity or cultural transfer, which each imply a static cultural object to be translated into the German cultural-linguistic realm. That said, the *Türkische Bibliothek* is a notable project of the 21st century that has positively contributed to the reception of Turkish literature amongst a German speaking readership.

Figure 1: Graph for TEDA Supports by Language
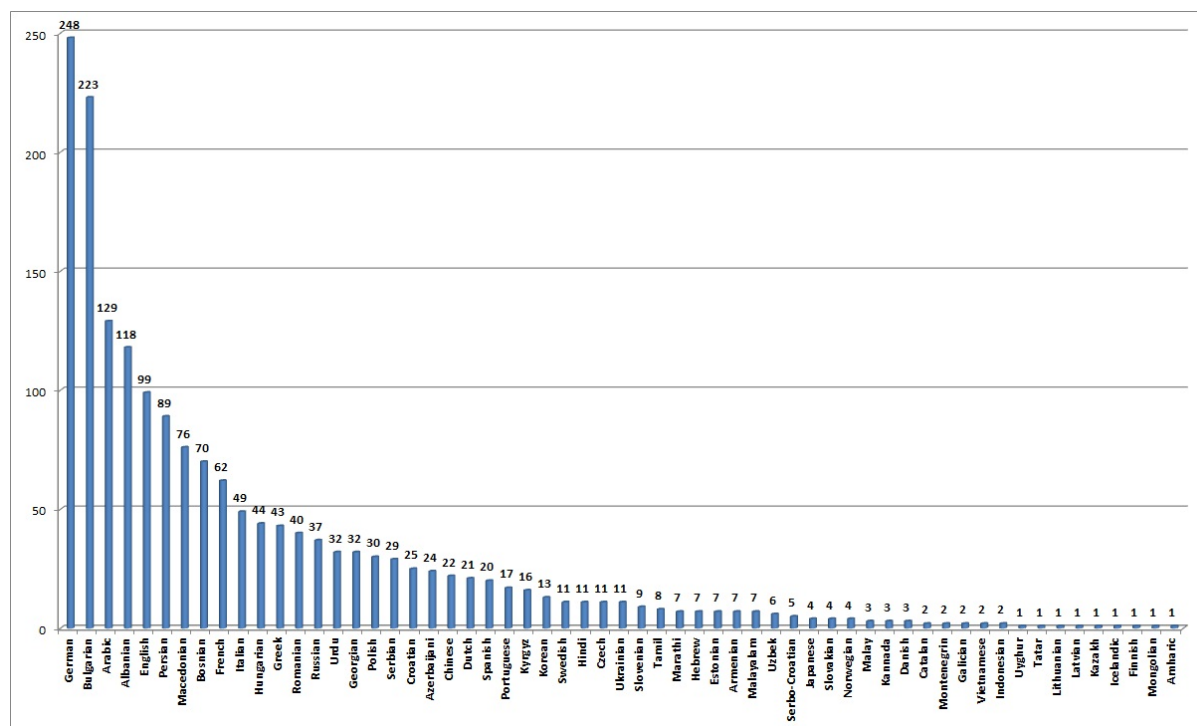
(Graph for Teda Supports)

A second major factor behind the upswing in translations from Turkish into German is the TEDA project funded by the Turkish government, which was incidentally also established in 2005. As of 2014 this subvention project for the publication of Turkish cultural, artistic, and literary works abroad has subsidized 1,755 translations from Turkish into 64 languages. As is evident in Figure 1 above, with 248 titles, more subsidies have been provided for translations into German than any other language to date.

Unlike the early Republican World Literature in Translation series, TEDA did not establish a pre-given selection of texts to be translated; the kinds of translations it ultimately funds are necessarily dependent on the application proposals it receives. The TEDA project nevertheless constitutes a fascinating counterpoint to the state-funded translation project of the 1940s, 50s, and 60s, marking a new commitment to the dissemination of Turkish culture abroad. At the same time that this program is designed to entice foreign publishers, the number of subventions it has provided attests to an increased interest in Turkish literature, above all in the German publishing scene, in the 21st century. The initiation of this project furthermore played a critical role in Turkey's selection as Guest of Honor for the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair—which stipulates an actively growing publishing industry, and significant support for translations as central selection criteria.

Finally, the establishment of the Tarabya Translation Prize (Turkish to German) in 2010 has contributed to the visibility of Turkish literature in German translation. The prize is jointly funded by the German Federal Foreign Office, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey, the Goethe-Institut Istanbul, the S. Fischer Stiftung, and the Robert Bosch Stiftung within the framework of the Ernst Reuter Initiative for Intercultural Dialogue and Understanding. It annually provides a prize of €7,500 for established translators, and €5,000 for new, and promising translators at a ceremony in the German general consulate in Tarabya, Istanbul.

I provide this statistical overview to underscore the immediacy of my project and the larger historical arc of my dissertation. Following a 54-year history of postwar migration from Turkey to Germany—with the first bilateral labor agreement between Germany and Turkey in 1961—the upswing in translations into *German* in the 21st century point to a positive, critical engagement with Turkish literary culture beyond the ossified Orientalist stereotypes of Turkey as traditional, as an Islamic Other, or as merely peripheral to the understanding of Germanness and Europeanness.

While translation initiatives of the 21st century mark a turning point in the reception of Turkish literature abroad, they do not simply undo or reverse dominant models of translation from minor to major literatures as a form of validation. This is an issue I address specifically in Chapter Four through my examination of the staging of translational processes in Orhan Pamuk's *Snow* and at the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair. Admittedly, authors are still confronted with pressure to present their work as "translatable" in the face of certain Euro-Atlantic desires for a stereotyped "authentic" or inside view on Turkish culture. At the same time, these diverse, privately and publicly funded translation initiatives point to new forms of German Turkish translational connectivity in the 21st century, and give me inspiration that more change is to follow.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

Chapter One of this dissertation considers why the specific history of German Turkish translational contact in the 19th century has been largely overlooked; it examines the exceptional role played by the Ottoman Empire within the field of German *Orientalistik,* and the overwhelming emphasis on French literary influence in scholarship on the late Ottoman period. In a call to diversify the study of late Ottoman translation movements through the examination of less commonly translated literatures, I read a set of translations from German into Ottoman of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* [1886-1894, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*]. Detailing the intense debate these texts express regarding the value, use, and method of translation in the Ottoman literary realm, I argue that they reveal an entangled history of contact that reaches back to Goethe's incorporation of translations from Ottoman into his *West-östlicher Divan* [1814-1819, *West-Eastlery Divan*]. As a group of novel excerpts by multiple translators, the Ottoman renditions of Werther offer a unique opportunity to read differing translation decisions as a debate in practice, rather than simply through their relationship to one original source text. Together, they reflect on 19th-century Ottoman modernization discourse, the perceived need to reform the Ottoman language, and the role translations from western European literatures played in this process.

At the same time, this group of translations reveals *Werther*'s account of modern subjectivity to entail processes of mediation that undermine the authority of an assumedly original German or western narrative voice. As such, they speak to Goethe's poetic destabilization of his own position as author earlier in the century. In contrast to an orientalist logic of discursively locating and asserting power over an assumed Other, Goethe's *Divan* poses a problem of orientation that puts both the space of the "Orient" and the "western" poet into question. Amongst the diverse elements of the *Divan*, Goethe's incorporation of Ottoman source texts in translation reveal the exceptional status of the Ottoman Empire within the field of Orientalistik as central to this larger problem of *Weltorientierung* staged in the text.

Similar to the late Ottoman context I examine in Chapter One, the role of literary translations vis-à-vis the development of the modern Turkish language and the Europeanization of Turkish society continued to be a source of intense public debate in the early Republican period. Chapter Two focuses on Sabahattin Ali, a leading author of this period who participated in Kemalist reform processes through his position as a state-employed translator, at the same time that he criticized such projects from within. I argue that Ali's intercultural novel *Kürk Mantolu Madonna* [1943, *Madonna in a Fur Coat*] critiques an understanding of modernity as an inherently western project through its focus on surface culture in Weimar, Berlin and Republican Ankara.

The Kemalist model of modernization as Westernization aimed at fully adopting European values rather than merely the façade of Western civilization. In the goal of "becoming" European, leading reformers of the early Republic warned against the dangers of mimicking, or superficially imitating Western Europe. The goal, instead, was for Turkey to emerge as an independent political entity that identified itself as European, as opposed to a mere "copy" of the West. In response to this rhetoric, Ali poses the difficult question of what "Western" values themselves might be. The distinction between fully adopting modern European ideals as opposed to the "façade" of European civilization is thoroughly complicated when those ideals are themselves revealed to be largely perpetuated through surface images.

Chapter Three brings the histories of translation outlined in Chapters One and Two to bear on the contemporary field of Turkish German Studies. I consider here the significance of Zafer Şenock's decision to begin publishing in Turkish in the 21st century after a more than 20-year career as German-language poet, novelist, essayist, journalist, and public intellectual. Whereas Şenocak's earlier essays lament a continued tendency to identify second generation German Turks with a distant "home" culture, his recent fiction more specifically puts the status of Turkey as an easily defined national referent into question. It marks a move on his part to engage more intensely—beyond the history of Turkish migration to Germany—with the contradictions of Turkish modernity and their relevance to an evolving conception of Germanness.

In addressing these issues, I read Şenocak's Turkish-language novel *Köşk* [2008, *The Residence,*] together with his often-cited German language novel *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* [1998 / *Perilous Kinship,* 2009], which bring the 1960 Turkish military coup and the Armenian Genocide into contact with the Holocaust, respectively. By reading these novels together, I argue that the Turkish experience of modernity was already a central aspect of Şenocak's writing, even before he began publishing explicitly in Turkish. The medium of the Turkish language nevertheless brings to the fore not only the question of what it means to remember across different histories of trauma, but also across different languages. In both novels, I show how acts of cross-linguistic remembrance are tied to the problem of translation. Together, these novels posit a multidirectional movement of translation between Ottoman, German, and modern Turkish that challenges the concept of memory ownership and disrupts monolingual and monocultural paradigms of Germanness and Turkishness.

In Chapter Four I examine the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair as an apex of the German Turkish translational relationship I explore throughout this dissertation. I read Orhan Pamuk's opening speech for the Fair, together with his novel *Kar* [2002 / *Snow,* 2005], as reflections on the pressing question of what and how Turkish authors are *expected* to perform in order to gain international recognition. In linking a (reluctant) compulsion to allegorize to the anxieties of presenting oneself on the world stage, they reveal and reflect on the process of being pigeonholed into representing "Turkishness" to an international audience. Through reference to the politics of the Nobel Prize, which Pamuk received in 2006, and the logo, speeches, and events of the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair, I consider how this problem of representation is linked to a politics of translatability and a specific German Turkish translational relationship in the 21st century. Through a consideration of the dramatic elements in *Kar,* I argue that Pamuk both performs and parodies the global "translatability" of his novel—writ large as a symbol of its validity—vis-à-vis a specific German Turkish relationship, that is nevertheless negotiated by the image of Europe at large. In turn, I read the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair as a global stage on which national identities are performed through the Guest of Honor program, and on which the tensions between in/visibility and un/translatability that play out in the Kars National Theater of Pamuk's *Kar* are both recognized and negotiated for the 21st century.

CHAPTER ONE

෧෨෬

Entangled Histories of Translation

Large-scale translation movements were central to the discursive production of both German and Turkish national-cultural identities prior to the establishment of a nation state. Intersections between these two traditions nevertheless remain largely underresearched, despite an extensive history of German Turkish economic, military, and literary-cultural relations.[9] Due to both a dominant French influence in the late Ottoman literary sphere and the incompatibility of Ottoman with the dominant paradigms of German *Orientalistik*, literary translations between German and Ottoman have been treated as either insignificant or exceptional. This chapter argues on the contrary, that instances of German Ottoman translational contact in the 19th century attest to complex interconnections that cut across time periods and traditions. Marked by omnidirectional processes of transcultural exchange, they complicate the contrapositions of self-identity and alterity, original and translation. In a century when distinct understandings of German- and Turkishness were beginning to emerge—in part via translations from diverse other national literatures—individual translations between Ottoman and German pose a challenge to the ethnocentric structure of national cultures, and an assumed division between East/West or Ottoman/German.

As a case study, I show how the first late 19th-century translations from German into Ottoman of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* [1886-1894, *The Sorrows of Young Werther*] reveal an entangled history of contact that reaches back to Goethe's incorporation of translations from Ottoman into his *West-östlicher Divan* [1814-1819, *West-Eastlery Divan*]. As a group of novel excerpts by multiple translators, the Ottoman renditions of *Werther* offer a unique opportunity to read differing translational decisions as a debate in practice, rather than simply through their relationship to one original source text. Together, they reflect on 19th-century Ottoman modernization discourse, the perceived need to reform the Ottoman language, and the role translations from western European literatures played in this process. At the same time, this group of translations reveals *Werther*'s account of modern subjectivity to entail processes of mediation that undermine the authority of an assumedly original German or western narrative voice. As such, they speak to Goethe's poetic destabilization of his own position as author earlier in the century. In contrast to an orientalist logic of discursively locating and asserting power over an assumed Other, Goethe's *Divan* poses a *problem* of orientation that puts both the space of the "Orient" and the "western" poet into question. Amongst the diverse elements of the

---

[9] Azade Seyhan notes the important role translational activity played in the formation of a modern German national and literary culture in *Tales of Crossed Destinies*. In relation to this history, she argues briefly that it is illogical to view modern Turkish literary culture as belated or inferior to a western counterpart merely due to its genesis through translations from western literature. She does not offer case studies to support this argument. Pınar Nedret has written on Turkish translations and receptions of Goethe's *Faust* in the 20th century. There is no study to my knowledge of earlier translations from German into Ottoman. Esra Akcan has also utilized the metaphor of translation in her study of architectural influence between the Weimar and modern Turkish Republics.

Divan, Goethe's incorporation of Ottoman source texts in translation reveals the exceptional status of the Ottoman Empire within the field of *Orientalistik* as central to this larger problem of *Weltorientierung* staged in the text.

Together, these diverse translations work against an emerging rhetoric of belatedness in the late 19th-century Ottoman literary realm. At the same time, they reveal the centrality of Ottoman literature and translation movements to highly canonical Enlightenment and late Romantic German authors such as Goethe. Their omnidirectional nature poses a further challenge to orientalist implications of modernity as a fundamentally western European project, and an assumed one-way transfer of modernity from West to East. On the contrary, they reveal complex processes of transcultural literary exchange that underscore the translational nature of modernity itself.

Translations with no "Original:" Reading *Werther* in Ottoman

The *Tanzimat*, or "reorganization" period (1839-1876) of the Ottoman Empire initiated a series of state-sponsored modernizing reforms modeled largely on European practices that had important repercussions in the literary realm. Following a long history of translations from Arabic and Persian poetry, authors in the *Tanzimat* period turned toward western European source texts: İbrahim Şinasi translated a collection of classical French poetry as *Tercüme-i Manzume* [*Translations of Verse*] in 1859. In this same year Yusuf Kâmil Paşa translated Fenelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* [*The Adventures of Telemachus*], introducing the first novel into the Turkish literary realm, and Münif Efendi translated a collection of philosophical texts by Fenelon, Fontenelle, and Voltaire entitled *Muhaverâtı Hikemiye* [*Philosophical Dialogues*]. With the introduction of new literary genres—such as drama, the novel, and literary criticism—these translations laid the foundation for modern Turkish literature. Shortly thereafter, İbrahim Şinasi composed the first modern Ottoman play, *Şair Evlenmesi* [1860, *The Poet's Marriage*], and approximately ten years following the first Ottoman translations from French, Şemsettin Sami published the first Ottoman novel, *Taaşuk-u Tal'at ve Fitnat* [1872, *Tal'at and Fitnat In Love*].

Recent years have witnessed a flood of scholarship on the significance of translation for the *Tanzimat* period through the establishment of the modern Republic of Turkey to the contemporary moment. Such scholarship emphasizes again and again the centrality of translation to Turkey's participation in a form of western modernity. Recurring terminology such as "civilizational transfer" (*medeniyet nakletmet*, Ülken 1935), "translating the west" (*batıyı çevirmek*, Karadağ 2009), and "cultural import" (Daldeniz 2010) nevertheless emphasize the problematics of this encounter. They reiterate models of influence and importation that highlight a lack in the Ottoman literary realm[10] and an imagined one-way transfer of modernity from West to East through the act of translation. As such, they reproduce a monolithic understanding of the "West" that fuels the underlying logic of belatedness.

Certain anxieties regarding the relative stagnation of the Ottoman language and literary realm vis-à-vis western European literatures were indeed present in late 19th-century Ottoman thought. Literary translation was broadly conceived as a method of social reform, as a means for achieving literary and cultural progress (*terakki*), and for "catching up" with more developed literatures of Europe.[11] This section asks how we can acknowledge such anxieties from a historical perspective while also working against perceptions of a belated modernity by revealing the complexities of late Ottoman translation movements. While the significance of French source texts for the *Tanzimat* and *Servet-i Fünun* [Wealth of Knowledge] periods is undeniable, an overwhelming scholarly emphasis on Ottoman French literary relations has obscured the diversity of late Ottoman translations, which included

---

[10] Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar argues in his *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* that the main reason for lack of innovation in Islamic and Ottoman literature prior to the 19th century was the lack of literary models (29). Such models, he believes, were provided with the first translations from French literature in the Tanzimat period (28).
[11] For an example of such discourse see Mithat's introduction to his translation of Pierre Corneille's *Le Cid*.

works from French, English, German, Russian, Italian, Latin, Polish, Belgian, Danish, and Greek.[12]

An examination of German to Ottoman translations, in particular, brings another dimension to the discourse of belatedness in Turkish Studies. In the 1880s, when the first translations from German were being undertaken, Germany had only recently emerged as a nation-state under Bismark in 1871. In the absence of a politically unified state, German intellectuals had previously imagined themselves as part of a *Kulturnation,* or a cultural union sustained through recourse to a common language and literature. Projects such as Joachim Heinrich Campe's *Wörterbuch der Deutschen Sprache* [1807, Dictionary of the German Language] and Jacob Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* [1854, German Lexicon], which sought to record and preserve linguistic tradition, were central to a projection of the German language as a unifying force in the absence of political unity. In his examination of Germany as a literary concept, Hinrich Seeba further underscores the projection of cultural unity via an imagined national literature, as a critical preparation for the eventual political unification and economic integration of the individual principalities under a common German state (354). Here he cites an exemplary line from Friedrich Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* (1804): "Wir wollen sein ein einzig Volk von Briidern" [qtd on 354-55, We want to be united as one people of brothers], as a "fictional battle cry for national unity" (355), that was referred to in 1870 during the Franco-Prussian Wars, in the aftermath of the 1918 revolution, and during the Third Reich.

A specific discourse of belatedness has emerged from this history, which posits Germany's formation as a nation-state as delayed in comparison to that of France and England (Plessner 1935). Yet within the late Ottoman context a figure such as Goethe—whose literature was central to the projection of a unified German cultural identity in the early 19th century—was read as a classic German author, against whose literary achievements Ottoman authors viewed their *own* literary tradition as belated. In asking how the Ottoman translations of Goethe actually work against this self-perception, I consider how the absence of a German nation-state was an important historical condition for Goethe's conception of a *Weltliteratur* that could transcend national boundaries; in the absence of a fixed national-political identity, Goethe understood Germans to have a certain clarity of perspective that was not limited by a cultural-political center (Pizer 6). This decentered vision of Germany's role within the world of *Weltliteratur* offers a fruitful point of comparison to the late Ottoman context. Rather than view modern Turkish literature retrospectively as belated due to its inception via translations from western European source texts, I argue that an emergent understanding of Turkishness was negotiated in the realm of literature and via translations from western European source texts. Such negotiations occurred prior to the establishment of a Turkish nation state in 1923, at a time period when the late Ottoman Empire was undergoing significant modernizing reforms. As such, these translations actually embrace central facets of Goethe's *Weltliteratur* paradigm as its related to 1820s Germany.

---

[12] In the book *Türkçe'de Batı Şiirleri* Ali İhsan Kolcu offers extremely useful compiled bibliographies of translated poetry, but does not offer analyses or reproduce texts. The only case studies on translations from languages other than French in the 19th century have focused on Shakespeare, mostly in the form of M.A. theses; İnci Enginün's doctoral thesis on this topic was published as a book in 1979 under the title *Tanzimat devrinde Shakespeare: tercümeleri ve tesiri.*

DIFFERENTIATING LATE OTTOMAN TRANSLATION MOVEMENTS

Sakine Eruz' work on Ottoman translation movements marks an important departure from the rhetoric of translation as a mode of one-way cultural transfer through her focus on Istanbul as a historically multilingual and multicultural city. She situates translation not as a strictly modernizing or westernizing process, but as a natural outcome of the interactions between diverse Turkish, Greek, Armenian, and Ladino communities in the Ottoman Empire (*Çokkültürlülük* 2010). Similarly, Johann Strauss has documented extensive translation and transliteration movements *within* the Empire—particularly amongst the Greek and Armenian communities—that occurred even before the first Ottoman translations from French.[13] My interest in 19th-century Ottoman German literary relations is informed by Strauss' call for a more wholistic and differentiated approach to translation activity in the Ottoman Empire. Housed largely in rare book sections of major research libraries, smaller acts of translation such as poetry, short stories, and excerpts from novels comprise an important element of a larger movement. Uncovering diverse late Ottoman translations that remain unanthologized and untransliterated can begin to overturn accusations of rudimentary, incomplete, or haphazard translation practices. Such accusations are too often based on questions of fidelity and accuracy, and the model of an original source text and inevitably inferior translation/copy ("Who Read What?").

In the following case study I show how the first translations from German into Ottoman reveal intense debate regarding the value, use, and method of translation in the Ottoman literary realm. At the same time that they express anxiety regarding the (in)expressive power of Ottoman, these translations bring forth a myriad of views on the subject that testify to both the translators' and the language's expressive capacity.

TRANSLATING MODERN SUBJECTIVITY

Between 1886 and 1894, the first thirteen letters of Goethe's epistolary novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* were rendered into Ottoman by a total of five translators (Ahmet Rasim, Hüseyin Danış, Halil Edip, Mustafa Fazıl, and one anonymous author), and published in leading literary journals of the time period.[14] In contrast to early Turkish Republican rhetoric that criticized late Ottoman translations for their haphazardness, erroneousness, or

---

[13] Strauss shows that translations of European fiction and scholarly literature were undertaken in non-Muslim Greek and Armenian communities much earlier than among Turks. One notable example is the 1843 Armenian translation of the *Illiad*, long before the appearance of a Turkish version. Strauss further argues that exchange took place among different literatures within the Empire on a variety of levels. He notes, for example, that popular Turkish literature such as the novels of Ahmet Mithat Efendi were transliterated into Armenian and Greek scripts for Turkish readers of these communities. Another striking example is Mithat's decision to translate E´mile Richebourg's *La Fille Maudite* (Merdud Kız; 1300/1883) after observing its success as a serialized novel in Greek and Armenian newspapers.

[14] This series of translated letters prefigured a complete translation of the novel in 1911. The first letter from *Werther* was translated anonymously and published by *Sebat Dergisi* in 1302/1886. A translation of the second letter followed shortly thereafter by Ahmet Rasim in *Gülşen Dergisi*, together with an article by Rasim on Goethe. *Say Dergisi* then published a series of four translated letters by Halil Edip in 1303-4/1888. Finally, *Malumat Dergisi* published four letters translated by Hüseyn Daniş, two letters translated by Mustafa Fazıl, and one anonymously translated letter throughout the year 1310/1894. While it is impossible to know if these translators were in direct contact, it is likely that they were at least aware of one another's work; the translations are not redundant, and were translated fairly systematically, starting from the beginning of the book and moving forward chronologically.

superficial adaptation of western values, this case study suggests the need to read translations in relation to one another, rather than simply against a single, presumably original source text. Indeed, reading the *Werther* translations in dialogue reveals the intense level of debate generated by questions of what and how to translate in the late Ottoman context. In contrast to passive models of importation and imitation—which fueled a perception of Ottoman belatedness—they reveal translation to be an *active* process that expressed individual translator's relative positions as literary agents.

As such, the role of the translator largely resembles Ahmet Mithat's depiction of the literary critic. In the first extended work of literary criticism in Ottoman, *Ahbar-ı Asara Tamim-i Enzar* [1890, *A General Look at Literary Works*], Mithat portrays the *müntekid*, or literary critic, at a level of development *above* the master. A figure normally treated as secondary in the realm of literary production, the critic is here elevated to the level of a torch in the darkness, leading the author down the right path (83-84). This ultimately amounts to a depiction of the writer as his own harshest, and therefore best, critic. Mithat nevertheless argues that there are no true Ottoman critics, as there is no Ottoman novel to speak of, and the latter cannot come into being without the former. This is a remarkable statement from an author of almost 50 novels! More than an expression of self-insufficiency vis-à-vis an assumedly superior western model, however, Mithat outlines a model of unachievable perfection in his emphasis on the extreme rarity of what he understands to be the ideal critic. Literary criticism is not simply something located in the West that must be emulated; it is rather a positive and constructive process that allows for a negotiation of the self through its interaction with a foreign form (the novel).

Reading Ottoman translations in this vein as an emergent form of literary criticism suggests the need to situate them not simply in relation to a static ideal set by the source text, but rather through an active negotiation of source and target languages that occurs in part through translations' interactions with one another. This approach is closely in line with the Ottoman tradition of *terceme,* a term for translation that also incorporated practices such as parallel and response poetry.[15] Adopted from Arabic before the 13th century, this term eventually dropped out of Turkish discourse in the 1960s. Its modern variant *tercüme* is quite similar to the meaning of *çeviri*, which no longer connotes a broad range of translational practices. Saliha Paker has shown how a Republican ideological emphasis on westernization has de-problematized the Ottoman concept of *terceme* through a modern nation-building process aimed at both a cultural and political break with the past: "As linguistic and poetic inventiveness, or originality in Turkish became important elements for literary studies to seek, locate, and foreground," she argues, "translations identified as *terceme* by their authors or by tradition were superficially evaluated in terms of the modern concept of fidelity" (129).

Reading the *Werther* translations within the *terceme* tradition suggests that they respond to one another, rather than simply to an authoritative "original" text. As such, they offer a commentary on the structure of Goethe's novel itself. A text that notably gained fame for Goethe and the German literary realm by way of its translation into French, *Werther's* narrative of modern subjectivity could also be read as a discourse on translation and the impossibility of a single, unmediated, or original narrative voice. The insertion of an editor

---

[15] It is further notable that *terceme* was only one of many terms used to describe translational practices in the late 19th century. Celal Demircioğlu's doctoral thesis investigates a variety of diverse Ottoman terms and concepts related to that of *terceme*, such as *taklid* (imitation), İktibas (borrowing), *Imtisal* (modeling), *Tanzir* (emulation), *Ahz* (taking), *Idhal* (importing).

toward the close of the novel stages an abrupt rupture of its epistolary form. Pointing to a lack of original documents, the editor describes his efforts to reconstruct the final days of Werther's life leading up to his suicide. While not uncommon for the epistolary form, the insertion of an editorial voice in *Werther* is notable in that it signals the introduction of a *multiplicity* of voices and mixed narrative forms into an otherwise strictly univocal text. The closing sections of *Werther* take extratextual references and citations to an extreme—perhaps most notably through Goethe's own excerpted translation from *The Poems of Ossian*. A collection of allegedly ancient Gaelic folk songs incorporating multiple voices, this poetry was "discovered" and "translated" into contemporary English by James Macpherson in the 1760s. Extremely popular among German intellectuals of the Storm and Stress movement (to which *Werther* belongs), Macpherson's translations inspired in particular an influential essay byJohann Gottfried Herder, "Über Ossian und die Lieder alte Völker" (On Ossian and the Songs of Ancient Peoples). Written in 1773, just one year before the publication of *Werther*, Herder's essay praises the sensual immediacy of oral folk poetry as the direct, collective expression of a *Volk*'s natural characteristics. While recognizing the necessity of preservation, Herder laments the transformation of embodied folk song into the disembodied "dead letters" of a written record. His own writing style—full of exclamation marks, dashes, and ellipses—could be described as an attempt to simulate the immediacy of the folk poetry it describes, at the same time that it recognizes the impossibility of fulfilling this task.

Lotte's request that Werther read his *Ossian* translations aloud expresses a similar desire to recuperate the oral character of these "original" songs. The extended *written* quote in the novel—which spans a full eight pages—nevertheless attests to the fact that Werther can only ever achieve a form of mediated immediacy. Rather than a strictly Herderian investment in the originary, untranslatable quality of the Ossian songs, I read this scene within the staged multi-vocality in the final sections of the novel as a commentary on the impossibility of an unmediated originality. This argument gains new meaning today with the knowledge that Macpherson's translations were actually a hoax reproduction; as such, *Werther* presents its contemporary readers with a translation of a translation with no original.

The reality of this translation stands in stark contrast to Werther's own desires for originality and individuality in the face of convention. Richard Eldrige has shown how these two poles pulling at Werther—represented alternately by his own fits of intense inner emotion, and his admiration for an image of pastoralized domesticity in the maternal figure of Lotte—are central to the experience of modern subjectivity. Citing Charles Taylor, he identifies modern inwardness and the affirmation of everyday life as core elements in the making of a modern identity for which the competing claims of the original and the ordinary are central to the pursuit of self-expression (50). Within the structure of the novel, I suggest that Werther's impossible pursuit of originality is tied to the novel's understanding of a translational experience of modern subjectivity. This idea is informed firstly by an understanding of modernity as *experience*—as opposed to an epoch or set of institutions— that places the creative potential of the individual at its center (M. Berman). At the same time, I argue that beyond a tension between individual autonomy and the constraints of social norms, acts of literary translation and textual mediation are central to Werther's emergence as an inherently modern subject. In this respect, the Ottoman translations of the novel add another key level of cultural mediation to Werther's character. As a multi-vocal collection of texts they reflect on Werther's impossible quest for originality through their negotiation of the state of the Ottoman language, and the significance of translating Goethe's "classic" of European literature into the late 19th-century Ottoman context.

THE *WERTHER* TRANSLATIONS AND THE CLASSICS DEBATE

Eleven years after the first Ottoman translation of *Werther*, Ahmet Mithat initiated the "Classics Debate" with his detailed definition of a classic as a *European* work of literature, approximately 100 to 150 years in age, and whose value does not decrease over time. As examples, he cites authors such as Goethe, Corneille, Shakespeare, Moliere, and Racine. In contrast to the national literatures these authors represent, Mithat states that Ottoman authors have not yet entered into their own classical period (Kaplan 64-69). In the myriad response articles that followed, Mithat's ideas were met with intense debate regarding the meaning of the term "classic" in relation to contemporary and ancient texts and the application of the term to non-European literatures. This gave way to a questioning of the existence of Ottoman literary "classics," which itself engendered an examination of the state of the Ottoman language, its perceived "maturity" (*olgunluk*), and its in/ability to engender a *klâsik dönem* [classical period], or the production of classical works of literature.

Very specific debates regarding the definition of the term "classic," its etymology, and to whom or what it should be applied, ensued.[16] Amidst these very detailed arguments, Ahmet Rasim responded with a largely metaphorical article—"Klâsikler Meselesinin Verdiği Bir Fikr-i Edebi (Mâzî) [Literary Observations Inspired by the Classics Affair (Past)]—that described classics as works from the past that help us learn from our mistakes. In contrast to authors such as Sâid Bey, who supported the translation of more recent European classics on the basis of their chronological proximity and perceived historical relevance to current European political and literary thought, Rasim criticized what he saw as a desire to progress forward by way of rejecting the past. He advocated instead for the translation of ancient Greek and Latin literature due to its foundational role for European civilization. According to Rasim, translating only from contemporary literature would be like groping in the darkness, after having been born into the nothingness of an unknown desert, through which one must find one's own way. In contrast to such exhausting circumstances, Rasim argues that Ottoman intellectuals should enter the future with weapons of knowledge (*silâh-ı irfân*) and critical guides (*müdekkik rehberler*) (Kaplan 88).

Considering the content of his article, it seems surprising that Rasim chose to translate from *Werther*. His decision to translate the fourth letter before the second or third (the first had already been translated) is nevertheless notable, as this letter contains the first of several references to Homer. Rasim's emphasis in his article on figures from the past as "renümâlar/ rehberler" [guides] resonates strongly with his depiction of Homer's words as soothing songs (lullabies or *Wiegengesang* in German, translated as *nağmeler*) capable of containing his emotions, which are depicted as his "mehdi-i cihan" [worldly guide]. A comparison of Rasim (left) and Akyüz' (right) translations of the same passage—with important differences marked in bold—reveals the specific emphasis Rasim places on Homer as an emotional guide:

---

[16] Questions emerged such as: Should the term "classic" be applied to authors or individual works? Can—and should—the word "classic" be applied to art forms other than literature such as plastic arts? Hüseyn Daniş traced the meaning of the word back to its Latin etymology; Ahmet Mithat attempted to explain its linguistic qualities according to the rules of Arabic grammar.

Ah! **Benim kalbim bir seylâbdır ki sürat-i kemalde cereyen eder.** Bana, daha henüz reside-i mehdi-i cihan olmuş olan kalbimi mahsur edecek nağmeler lazımdır. Bereket versin ki **benim (omur)um** bu nağmeleri bana tedarik etmişdir. Galeyan ve heyecan için **o kitabı** kaç defa **müraca'at** etdim!

Zira bu kalb kendi kendine derece-i kafide cereyan etmektedir. Hatta benim—ondan ziyade—ninni gibi cevab bir sürede ihtiyacım var. Bunu ise **(homer)de** ma ziyade bulurum. Kaç defalar galeyan kann... teskin etmek hunumu teskin etmek   ihtiyacında bulundum!

[Oh! **My heart is a flood, flowing at a perfect pace. I am in need of a song to to surround/ confine my heart**, which has recently arrived at its worldly guidance. Thank heavens **my Homer** has provided me with these songs. How many times have **I appealed to this book** to soothe my agitated and excited blood!]

[because this heart beats at a sufficient degree on its own. I need—rather—an answer like a lullaby for the time being. This I find in abundance in **Homer**. How many times have I needed to soothe my agitated blood!][17]

In Rasim's version of the passage, it is specifically by returning to Homer's book that Werther is able to sooth his volatile character. This places an added emphasis on Homer as a healing force, whereas the need to calm oneself (*teskin etmek*) is an act grammatically separated from the reading of Homer in both Ali Akyüz's version, and in the German.

In contrast to the later translations of Mustafa Fazıl and Ali Akyüz, Rasim also chooses to directly translate Werther's reference to "*my* Homer" (my emphasis). While an arguably minor linguistic issue, this personal pronoun is significant as one of the subtle ways in which Goethe expresses Werther's fatal egocentricity (Graham 15). Rasim's decision to maintain "my" where other translators choose to eliminate it maintains an emphasis on Werther's inherently romantic character. This is underscored by Rasim's insertion of the word "seylâb" [flood] to describe the state of Werther's heart. By drawing a connection between Werther's uncontrollable intellectual fervor and the destructive natural force of raging waters, Rasim foreshadows a real flood that occurs toward the close of the novel, and the final flood of emotions that ultimately lead Werther to commit suicide.

Notably, Mustafa Fazıl eliminates *all* references to flood vocabulary from his translations. At times, this entails the removal of entire passages, including key references to the awesome, but destructive character of artistic creativity/ romantic genius.[18] Read together, Rasim's and Fazıl's translations reflect on the larger problems of Werther's artistic self-expression and modern subjectivity. In either highlighting or downplaying the sentimental-romantic tendencies of Werther's search for self, they bring out key tensions in the source text regarding his impossible desire for originality and singularity in the face of social convention.

---

[17] All English translations and transliterations from Ottoman are my own.

[18] Consider, for example, the following omitted passage: "O meine Freunde! Warum der Strom des Genies so selten ausbricht, so selten in hohen Fluten herinbraust und eure staunende Seele erschüttert? – Liebe Freunde, da wohnen die gelassenen Herren auf beiden Seiten des Ufers, denen ihre Gartenhäuschen, Tulpenbeete und Krautfelder zugrunde gehen würden, die daher in Zeiten mit Dämmen und Ableiten der künftig drohenden Gefahr abzuwehren wissen" (14-15). [Oh my friends! Why does the stream of genius break forth so rarely, so rarely roar down in a raging torrent, mountain high, to convulse your wondering souls? My friends, there are tranquil fellows dwelling on both banks whose arbours, tulip-beds and cabbage-plots would be devastated, and so they are able to ward off the threatening danger by timely damming and draining].

Similar issues surface in Hüseyn Daniş' translations, with a more specific focus on the very possibility of self-representation in language, or the translation of subjective experience into words. Notably, all the letters Daniş translated are predominantly concerned with the faculty of imagination, the relationship of life to art and the ability to express one's feelings accurately. Consider, for example, the following excerpt from the close of Werther's May 10th letter:

Ach könntest du das wieder ausdrücken, könntest du dem Papiere das einhauchen, was so voll, so warm in dir lebt, dass es würde der Spiegel deiner Seele, wie deine Seele ist der Spiegel des unendlichen Gottes!	Şair! Seni müstağrak lücce-i hayret eden şu menazır-ı aliyeyi niçin teşhirgah beyana çıkaramıyorsun? Acaba hissiyat-ı aliye derununi musavvir olabilecek bir eseri meydana koyamaz mısın?
[Ah! I would that I could express it, would that I could breathe onto paper that which lives so warm and full within me, so that it might become the mirror of my soul as my soul is the mirror of the eternal God!]	[Poet! Why can't you publicly declare this sublime view that has immersed you in deep wonder? Or is it that you cannot make public a work of art capable of depicting feelings of deep sublimity?]

Whereas Daniş translations are generally inclined toward embellishment, this instance in which he actually shortens the source text is particularly striking. It resonates with his own view that no language's form and style could be accurately represented in another, but that a certain level of information (*bilgi*) could be transferred through translation (Kaplan 50-51). The May 10th letter could be read as a meta-reflection on this very idea: In it, Werther laments the impossibility of transferring the sublime joy he derives from nature to canvas, suggesting that the utter singularity of his experience is untranslatable. This very lament is nevertheless expressed through a detailed depiction of his feelings in epistolary form. The words of this letter could thus be described as an *impossible* translation, or a potentially imperfect mirroring of Werther's soul.

That Daniş' translation does not exactly "mirror" the syntax and meaning of the original passage could be read both as a *continuation* of the original passage's intention, and an expression of his views on the state of the Ottoman language. In his contribution to the classics debate, Daniş argued that a classic can only be produced once a language has embodied the ideals of its nation (Kaplan 40-41). Through a negative inversion of this argument, he claimed that if classics did exist in Ottoman, the language would have already reached its highest level of maturity (Kaplan 36). Daniş' own heavy usage of Persian vocabulary and tendency toward embellishment are in line with a longer history of Divan poetry that he implicitly criticizes for not being reflective of Ottoman values. As such, it expresses the relative stagnation of the Ottoman language and suggests that no other translation was possible due to a lack of appropriate syntax and structures.

His emphasis on the importance of making one's feelings *public* could be read in relation to this criticism. As a character who attempts to escape the confines of bourgeois society by moving to the countryside, Werther is marked by his search for a solitary lifestyle. In his retreat from the confines of social life, it is a desire for the impossible—ranging from his impossible love for Lotte, to an impossibly perfect unity with nature or expression of his feelings in another medium—that offers a (temporary) confirmation of the singular and original nature of the self. Goethe's staged polyphony in the final sections of the novel nevertheless suggests the impossibility of an unmediated narrative of the self. Daniş'

transformation of Werther's conversation with himself into a rhetorical question posed to the literary character by the writer/translator is thus in line with the novel's ending. Daniş hereby opens the question posed to a broader context, which in turn speaks to the role of translation in opening a source text to an entirely new public. As such, the *information* Daniş reveals through this translation is precisely a statement on the impossibility of an exact transmission of meaning, even as his translation *continues* the meaning of the original, albeit in a new context.

TRANSLATION AND *WELTLITERATUR*

Together, these translations of *Werther* enact processes of mirroring (*Spiegelung*) similar to that which Goethe utilized to describe the international circulation of his own work. Arguing that any national literature will exhaust itself without the refreshing counterperspective of a foreign literature, Goethe describes a translational mirroring that is not an exact reproduction of the image at hand; it is a revitalization that reveals aspects of an "original" image the original could never reveal about itself. This argument is central to his portrayal of *Weltliteratur* as a method of critical discourse that gains perspicuity through international perspective. In reference to this idea, Antoine Berman suggests that world literature is not a concept that can be used to describe any single work, or even a limited canon of works that have achieved an accepted universal status. It is also not an encyclopedic totality of all works of literature past and present. In asking rather what it means to talk about an "age" of world literature, Berman argues that:

> Goethe's notion of *Weltliteratur* is an historical concept concerning the modern situation of the relation among diverse national or regional literatures. In that sense it would be better to speak of the age of world literature—which is the age in which literatures are no longer satisfied with interacting (a phenomenon that has always more or less existed), but that explicitly conceive of their existence and their unfolding in the framework of an incessantly intensified interaction. (55)

In contrast to theories of world literature based on a core-periphery model of profound inequality (Moretti, Cassanova), or on the assumption that target literatures are "interfered with" by source literatures that completely ignore them (Even-Zohar), Goethe's historical conception of *Weltliteratur* suggests the translational experience of modernity itself. Notably, the late 18th and early 19th centuries in which Goethe composed his major literary works witnessed an unprecedented amount of translation in the German context. In contrast to the conservative Romantic discovery of a national and Christian past, this surge in translational activity testified to Romanticism's conception of its own time as both fractured and incomplete. Rather than simply understanding its own modern condition as a repudiation of the past, the Romantic tradition set itself more specifically against classicism, or the very possibility of a classic, timeless work (Jauss 49); on the contrary, the modern came to be understood as a state of unfinished reflection.

Although Goethe became a leading author of Weimar Classicism, there is significant overlap between his conception of *Weltliteratur* and the Romantic conception of modernity. The system of circulation and exchange inherent to world literature not only necessitates an *active* coexistence of all contemporary literatures, but also a fundamental reconsideration of

the relationship of the (national) self to the Other. Goethe not only argues that any national literature would exhaust itself without the counter-perspective of translation, he also sees translation as an act of giving up the "originality" of the translator's nation in the process of identifying with the source language (361). In each case the original text/nation is figured as fundamentally *incomplete* without its translation.

Arguing that the first Ottoman translations of *Werther* take part in such an age of world literature is to say that they participate in an experience of modernity that renders the self subject to processes of translation: their emphasis on the difficulty of self-expression reveals a translational experience of modern subjectivity, and their structure as a group of texts mediating one another undermines the presumably "originary" authority of their source text. By opening up new spaces of negotiation regarding translational practices and the expressive capacity of the Ottoman language they show that late Ottoman literature was not merely interfered with by source literatures, and that authors did not simply import works of European literature into the Ottoman realm. On the contrary translation provided an important realm for debate and an alternative form of literary criticism.

At the same time, these translations raise questions regarding the extent to which larger processes of world literary circulation are actually open to the world. Critics of *Weltliteratur* point to its inherently Eurocentric basis, emphasizing Goethe's reverence for classicism and Greek antiquity. Admittedly, the larger system of international literary exchange they participate in is not perfectly balanced or symmetrical; these translations do, however, offer an insightful counterpoint to Goethe's own interactions with Ottoman literature and culture earlier in the century. In particular, they speak back to Goethe's incorporation of various Ottoman source texts into his *West-östlicher Divan,* a text that could be said to embody his evolving conception of *Weltliteratur*. Read in conversation across time periods these two different moments of 19th-century Ottoman German literary contact reveal processes of circulation that do not move strictly along a center-periphery model, but suggest rather a translational experience of modernity that calls the strict division of East/West and Ottoman/German into question.

The Ottoman Disorient in Goethe's *Divan*

Written over a period of approximately 13 years, Goethe's *Divan* underwent two editions and was inspired by a myriad of source texts, ranging from the pre-Islamic Arabic poems of the *Mu'allaqat* to the Qur'an and the Diwan of the 14th-century Persian poet Hafiz. While far less documented in secondary scholarship, Goethe's letters, notes, and diaries also reveal his intense engagement with a variety of Ottoman texts in translation through the work of the diplomat and amateur orientalist Heinrich Friedrich von Diez. From late 1814 through the spring of 1815, Goethe exchanged letters with Diez, whose translations and commentaries he read with great interest. In particular, Diez' two volume *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien* [Memoirs of Asia] contained translations from Ottoman sources that inspired diverse poems of the *Divan*. As Goethe himself stated in his first conceptualization of this text to his publisher Cotta, "auf die orientalische Poesie und Literatur [ist] überhaupt Rücksicht genommen… ja, die türkischen Dichter sind nicht außer Acht gelassen" [qtd in *Orient* 260, oriental poetry and literature in general have been taken into consideration... yes, the Turkish poets have not been disregarded]. In the following I consider what role poems inspired by Ottoman source texts play within the larger framework of Goethe's *Divan*, and how they reflect on Goethe's own relationship to the Ottoman Empire. Both of these issues are tied to the power dynamics of orientalism and the specific role that Goethe's *Divan* and the Ottoman Empire played within the field of German *Orientalistik*.

OTTOMAN CHALLENGES TO ORIENTALISM

Noting the strictly textual nature of Goethe's engagement with the Orient, Edward Said famously cites the *Divan* in his larger claim that German orientalism remained an exclusively scholarly or classical realm. In contrast to his analysis of British and French orientalist scholarship as preparation for, and legitimation of colonial domination, he argues that German orientalism never sustained a national interest in the Orient: "It was made the subject of lyrics, fantasies, and even novels, but it was never *actual*, the way Egypt and Syria were actual for Chateaubriand, Lane, Lamartine, Burton, Disraeli, or Nerval" (*Orientalism* 19).

Scholars have since responded to this claim by calling for a broader, more nuanced understanding of orientalism, to include a variety of philological, psychological and sociological "interests" that Said himself argues can indeed constitute "a certain will or intention to understand, in some cases to control, manipulate, even to incorporate, what is a manifestly different (or alternative and novel) world" (qtd in Jenkins 97).[19] Todd Kontje, for example, argues that German authors created symbolic mappings of the Orient as a projected space against which a sense of Germanness was defined. Rather than a direct material interest in the East, he understands national interest as an "intellectual effort to locate and preserve a

---

[19] See for example the special issue on German Orientalism in *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East.* Volume 24, Number 2, 2004.

sense of communal identity" (3).[20] Susanne Marchand takes Kontje's argument a step further, arguing that Germans did not lack any kind of "actual" engagement with the East. They had a long-standing relationship with the Holy Land and the Ottoman Empire, and the Wilhelmine Empire had both colonial interests and territories (13).

Germany's engagement with the Ottoman Empire in particular is often dated to 1835, with Helmut von Moltke's aid to Sultan Mahmud II in Ottoman military reform (1835-39). Substantial German economic investment in the Ottoman Empire followed with Friedrich II's visit to Constantinople in 1889, and Sultan Abdülhamid II's subsequent agreement to the construction of the Bagdad Railway through a formal trade agreement in 1890. Germany's relationship to the Ottoman Empire also played an important role in its self-positioning vis-à-vis other colonial powers of Europe through its approach to the Eastern Question,[21] and the decision to form a German-Turkish alliance in WWI.

Ottoman with the German speaking lands can nevertheless be traced back much earlier than 1835. A *Konsularakademie* in Vienna was founded in 1754 to train interpreters for diplomatic intercourse with Ottomans. Shortly thereafter, an Ottoman embassy was established in Vienna in 1757, and a second sizeable embassy was opened in Berlin between 1764-65. Throughout the Russo-Turkish wars of 1768-1774, the Ottoman Empire came into the increasing focus of European foreign policy. German newspapers such as Hegel's *Bamberger Zeitung*, and Kleist's *Abendblättern* published information on Constantinople, including courtly news, small translations, and reports on the Russian-Ottoman conflict (Polaschegg 220-221). Nearly one hundred years after the second attempted Ottoman siege of Vienna, Austria entered into negotiations with the Ottoman Empire in order to prevent a Russian invasion of the Balkans (1771). This marked an important turning point in German Ottoman relations; starting in 1784 and 1799 Heinrich Friedrich von Diez and Joseph von Hammer Purgstall served in the German and Austrian embassies in Constantinople, respectively (N. Berman 159).

During this time period new images of the Turk also emerged in the German literary realm. Whereas negative portrayals had dominated from the late 17th to mid-18th century, operas, dramas, and comedies of the late 18th century began to portray Turkish sovereigns as repositories of Enlightenment values (N. Berman 161). A variety of travelogues depicting the Ottoman Empire had entered the literary market by the 18th century, and the first studies of the Turkish language were published in the form of conversation books for travelers.

Despite this significant German Ottoman relationship, there is a tendency in secondary scholarship to either overlook translations from Turkish,[22] or to characterize Turkish studies as less rigorous than other German orientalist scholarship of the 18th and 19th centuries.[23] While there were indeed relatively fewer translations from Ottoman in

---

[20] By participating in the intellectual project of Orientalism, Kontje argues, Germans sought to overcome their sense of cultural and political subordination to other European powers—in particular France—suggesting that although they had neither nation nor empire, they nevertheless belonged to European civilization (5).

[21] The Eastern Question refers to diplomatic tensions between major European powers caused by the decline of the Ottoman Empire, rising nationalist sentiments in Greece and the Balkans, and Russian territorial interest in the Balkans.

[22] Andrea Pollaschegg states for example that ""Die türkische Dichtung fand… kaum deutsche Übersetzer, Verleger und Leser" (220).

[23] Such criticism focuses on the fact that both Hammer-Purgstall and Heinrich Friedrich von Diez—the two most prominent scholars of Ottoman literature and history of the late 18th and early 19th centuries— never held academic positions, but were trained as interpreters and diplomats. It further emphasizes the inferior role Turkish played to the study of Persian, and more specifically Arabic, noting that except for Vienna, Turkish Studies was not an integral component of German university programs.

comparison to other "oriental" languages, what do existing translations reveal through their unique status within the broader conception of orientalism today?

The Ottoman Empire plays an exceptional role within both the Saidian discourse of orientalism and specifically German strains of *Orientalistik*. In contrast to the Far East, the Ottoman Empire lay in close geographic proximity to Europe through its border with the Hapsburg Empire. The Islamic lands were furthermore on top of the biblical Holy Land, and Islam was theologically much closer to Christianity than the religions of China, India and Japan. Citing the British colonial enterprise in India, Portuguese presence in the East Indies, China and Japan, and French colonialism in North Africa and the Levant, Said argues that "*Islam excepted*, the Orient was for Europe until the 19th century, a domain with a continuous history of western dominance" (73, my emphasis).[24]

From a linguistic standpoint Ottoman posed a challenge to the German field of *Orientalistik* with its strong philological foundations dedicated to the studying of foreign languages. In particular, its multiethnic and multilingual makeup defied German philological scholarship that sought to trace etymological lines between language, culture and a specific *Volk*. As a hybrid of Turkish, Persian and Arabic written in the Perso-Arabic script, and largely a language of the court, Ottoman was incompatible with German 19th-century conceptions of a *Volkssprache*, and other scholarly paradigms for oriental languages. Whereas Hebrew and Arabic both had strong ties to protestant theology, Ottoman had no logical connection to biblical scholarship. And in contrast to Persian and Sanskrit, which lent themselves well to an historical-comparative approach to linguistics (*Sprachwissenschaft*), the relative youth of the Ottoman Empire and its language did not comply with a German tendency to historicize the Orient through reference to ancient and mythic cultures (Polaschegg 220-223). On the contrary, the Ottoman Empire exhibited what Andrea Polaschegg terms "ein Übermaß an Gegenwertigkeit" [223, an excess of presence].

Notably, the earliest translations from Ottoman into German reflect the exceptional character of the Ottoman Empire within German orientalist studies. Heinrich Friedrich von Diez' two volume *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien* (1811, 1815),[25] a work Goethe knew well, sought to correct European orientalist stereotypes of the Ottoman Empire through a repeated emphasis on the humanity of the Turk. Testament to the six years he spent as ambassador in Constantinople (1784-1780), *Denkwürdigkeiten* represents the diverse Ottoman, Persian, and Arabic manuscripts Diez acquired during this time period. The introduction to this work underscores the important role the Ottoman Empire played in preserving great works of Arabic and Persian poetry, figuring Ottoman archives as repositories of knowledge and valuable cultural information. As such Diez depicts the Ottoman Empire—and Constantinople in particular—as an intermediary between Europe and the Orient, and an important site of literary contact.[26]

---

[24] This special status does not render the Ottoman Empire or the modern Republic of Turkey any less "oriental" throughout the spectrum of Said's scholarship. In "Secular Criticism," for example, Said argues that the strength of Auerbach's *Mimesis* comes from his "critically important alienation from [western cultural tradition]" and his state of "Oriental, non-Occidental exile" (6). Here Istanbul is treated as the capital of a historic empire that represents the quintessential antithesis of European humanism.

[25] Subsequent translations include Joseph von Hammer Purgstall's translations of Baqi (1825) and a multivolume history of Ottoman poetry, which included an anthology of 2,200 Ottoman poets (1836).

[26] Perhaps the most famous example of such contact revolves around the tales that make up the *1001 Nights*. Antoine Galland's first, and extremely influential, translations (1704-1717) of these tales into French were based on an Arabic manuscript brought to Paris from Constantinople by French-Ottoman diplomat Marquis Nointel.

Goethe's relationship to Diez' work and the Ottoman Empire is contested in secondary scholarship. Ian Almond argues that while Goethe was familiar with and valued Diez' work, he nevertheless chose to ignore information at hand in overly simplistic depictions of Turks. He notes a stark disparity between Goethe's keen interest in both Islam and Ottoman literary culture and his selective, negative portrayals of Turks in works such as *Philipp Hackert* (1811) and *Neugriechische-epirotische Heldenlieder* [1822, New Greek Piraean Sagas]. Almond reads this as a contradiction of aesthetic and political interests: As a potential threat to Europe the Ottoman Empire in general posed a challenge to Goethe's view of Islam as a civilizing and inspirational force (79). Katharina Mommsen argues on the contrary, that many of Goethe's statements on Turks and the Ottoman Empire demonstrate marked independence in thought, despite persistent negative indoctrination from a young age. Rather than as the arch enemy of Christianity, she notes that Goethe often depicted Turks in a neutral, if not overtly positive light: "Brief des Pastors" [The Pastor's Letter] portrays a Protestant pastor who shows brotherly love toward both Jews and Turks; looted Turks in *Faust* offer an important counterpoint to the image of Turks as barbaric plunderers of Christian lands; and *Götz von Berlichingen,* which offers a historical portrayal of the Turks as *Erbfeind*, nevertheless expresses the humanity of Turkish prisons in comparison to the treacherous conditions in Germany (*Orient* 246-252).

The *Divan* in particular offers remarkably positive portrayals of Ottoman Muftis, or Muslim jurist-interpreters of religious law with the authority to deliver a fatwa. The poems "Fetwa" and "Der Deutsche dankt" [The German Offers Thanks] in "Hafis Nameh – Buch Hafis" [Book of Hafiz], for example, express thanks to the Grand Mufti Ebusuud Efendi for upholding the poetic value of Hafiz' Diwan against orthodox theologians wishing to ban it due to erotic content (25), thus ensuring the survival of this work for future generations. Goethe's declaration of Ebusuud's sainthood ("Heiliger Ebusuud!" 1, 2, 16) in relation to this matter is particularly noteworthy; beyond Diez' depiction of the Ottoman Empire as an important repository of literary history, it underscores the value of Turkish appreciation for art and liberal thought in the face of religious dogma.

Beyond such explicit references to Turks and the Ottoman Empire, how do *Divan* poems inspired by Diez' translations from Ottoman source texts reflect the exceptional status the Ottoman Empire and translations from Ottoman played within the field of orientalism? In the following section I argue that in contrast to the forms of textual localization and stabilization of the Other at the center of Said's theory, they help to stage a *problem* of orientation within the larger framework of the *Divan.* Through themes of excess, cosmic imagery and the collapsing of diverse times and spaces, Ottoman-inspired poems of the *Divan* demonstrate the impossibility of discursively locating the Other, figured alternately as the actual space of the Orient, the textual realm of oriental poetry, or the beloved. As such, they suggest that translation does not enact a one-way movement from original/source to secondary/target language, but rather processes of exchange and artistic creation that destabilize the position of both.

My reading of Goethe's Ottoman-inspired poems is informed by his own discussion of translation within the *Divan* as a *Zeitraum*, a word for epoch that translates literally as "time-space." Goethe's depiction of cyclical translational processes bears striking similarities to both the structure of the *Divan* and his conception of *Weltliteratur* as a fundamentally modern "age" in which literatures are brought into ever closer proximity through a system of international exchange. In the conclusion of this chapter, I consider to what extent the

Ottoman elements of Goethe's *Divan* participate in such a system, and what implications this might have for a reading of the first Ottoman translations of Goethe's earlier work.

EAST-WEST CONTEMPORANEITY IN GOETHE'S *DIVAN*

By strategically positioning himself in relation to his text and subject matter, Said argues, the western orientalist author seeks to both contain and speak on behalf of the Orient; by asserting knowledge about, and authority over the Other, he renders it unchanging and stable. This in turn affords him a form of relative self-localization through the distinction between the space of the Orient and his own occidental position.

By bringing elements from diverse source texts together in the space of his *Divan*, Goethe collapses both times and spaces, suggesting on the contrary the impossibility of locating a fixed perspective or site of narration. While replete with oppositions—such as East/West, poetry/prose, love/hate, voice/script, past/present—these seeming dualities work together to create cycles of mirror relations that mediate one another. Such use of oppositional pairs begins with the title itself. The use of a hyphen in the German title, *West-östlicher Divan* [West-easterly Divan] suggests a geographic and poetic fusion of East and West. The Arabic subtitle, الديوان لشرقي للمؤلّف الغربي [*The Eastern Divan by the Western Author*],[27] reinforces on the contrary a clear distinction between cultural spheres in line with Goethe's initial conceptualization of the *Divan* as a collection of *German* poetry written in an *oriental* style.[28] Yet it is arguable that Goethe's understanding of an "oriental" quality or style of poetry nevertheless breaks down this distinction between East and West once again. In the chapter "Allgemeines" [General Observations] Goethe depicts oriental poetry as having an awe-inspiring "Mannigfaltigkeit" [220, diversity] capable of bringing the most unrelated of concepts together. Central to the introduction of free forms to modern literature and art, the concept of *Mannigfaltigkeit* represented an important break with *Einheitsdenken* [uniformity of thought] in the German Romantic tradition and was thus one critical indicator of cultural modernity during Goethe's lifetime (Schwarz 148). His utilization of this term to describe Persian and pre-Islamic poetry poses a challenge to the logic of orientalism as a project of post-Enlightenment western modernity that asserted western civilization as an ideal non-western societies should aspire to. It suggests on the contrary an experience of what Anil Bhatti terms "eine virtuelle Situation der Gleichzeitigkeit" [122, a situation of virtual contemporaneity] between Goethe and the authors of various eastern traditions incorporated into his *Divan*.

This contemporaneity of western and eastern textual traditions is embodied by Goethe's metaphorical depiction of oriental poetry as a market: "[D]ie kostbarsten und niedrigsten Waren im Raume [sind nicht] weit gesondert, sie vermischen sich in unseren Augen, und oft gewahren wir auch die Fässer, Kisten, Säcke, worin die transportiert worden" (221) ["Not always are the most costly and cheapest wares widely separated in space. They

---

[27] This is the standard translation of Goethe's subtitle. The Arabic preposition "لِ" can nevertheless also mean "for," suggesting the alternative translation, *The Eastern Divan for the Western Author*. Considering Goethe's conviction that all translations into German should henceforth be considered as German literature (A. Berman 200) the ambiguity of the Arabic sub-title reenacts the hyphen of the German title in an unsuspecting way. If we consider Goethe's references to Hafiz as both an inspiration and soul-brother/twin, the "Western Author" of the sub-title could be understood as a reference to the Eastern author, Hafiz, translated into German.

[28] Goethe expressed this idea in a letter to Cotta in May 1815 (qtd. in *Goethe und Diez* 79).

mix before our eyes, and often we behold also the barrels, boxes, and sacks in which they have been transported" 206].[29] Goethe draws a clear connection between the market and his own *Divan* by referring to himself as both a "Reisender" [traveler] and "Handelsmann" [merchant] in the opening section of the *Noten und Abhandlungen* [166-167, Notes and Essays]. Such use of market vocabulary is highly relevant to Goethe's conception of *Weltliteratur*, which coincided with the historical emergence of an international *Weltmarkt* for material goods (A. Berman 55). Noting Goethe's fondness for metaphors of commerce and trade, Fritz Strich describes Goethe's understanding of *Weltliteratur* as an: "intellectual barter, a traffic in ideas between peoples, a literary world market to which the nations bring their spiritual treasures for exchange" (17). While the market metaphor signifies on one hand the inherently modern situation of an intensified, inevitable interaction between diverse literary traditions, the concept of Goethe as traveling merchant nevertheless implies a certain power relationship in the market structure. Goethe is free to pick and choose the poetic goods of his choice, and present them accordingly to his European readership. The opening poem of the *Noten und Abhandlungen* confirms this idea:

Wer das Dichten will verstehen	[Poetry if you would know,
Muss ins Land der Dichtung gehen	To its country you must go;
Wer den Dichter will verstehen,	If the poet you would know,
Muss in Dichters Lande gehen. (164)	To the poet's country go.] (175)

This layered conception of travel replicates a strictly orientalist logic in which it is Goethe's role to articulate and represent the Orient for a western readership: Goethe travels to the land of poetry—or the diverse oriental texts that inspired his *Divan*—while the reader travels to the poet's land, or the pages of Goethe's poetry. A parallel poem from the opening sections of the *Divan* nevertheless questions what it means both to travel and to stay at home:

Lasst mich nur auf meinem Sattel gelten!	[Let me get my saddle, don't need rest!
Bleibt in euren Hütten, euren Zelten!	Stay in hut and tent, for you they're best!
Und ich reite froh in alle Ferne,	I'll be riding footloose, free, and far;
Über meine Mütze nur die Sterne. (10, 1-4)	And above my cap, many a star.] (4, 5-8)

The Bedouin lifestyle evoked by the words "huts" and "tents" in line two suggests that by engaging with the *Divan,* Goethe's assumedly German or western European readers have already placed themselves in an eastern setting, which in turn questions where the "Poet's land" actually is. The following section examines how this question is inexplicably tied to Goethe's own theorization of translation in the prose portion of his *Divan*, and how such theories reflect back on the concept of *Weltliteratur*.

THE "POET'S LAND" AS TRANSLATIONAL TIME-SPACE

Goethe's description of translation as a medium through which Germans move toward (*vorrücken*) the Orient (359) strikingly resembles the virtual movement both Goethe and readers experience through the *Divan*. It suggests the need to theoretically consider what

---

[29] All English translations from the *Divan* are taken from Martin Bidney's *West-East Divan* (2010).

it means to engage with the foreign through translation, and posits the *Divan* as a translational space in which this occurs.

According to Goethe, all acts of translation occur within the temporally and spatially determined relationship of text to nation. He outlines three progressive stages of translation[30] in which the third, and final stage is described as a "Zeitraum" or time-space, in which the translator follows the original so closely as to give up the originality of his own *nation* in the process (my emphasis, 361). Goethe expressed a similar idea in an 1828 letter to Carlyle regarding the English translation of his own *Torquato Tasso*. Here he argues that the connection of an original work to its translation must be seen within the relationship between two nations in order to "encourage a common world literature transcending national boundaries" (qtd in Strich 349-50). In the *Divan* he argues that such a relationship is fostered through a translation as identical to the original as possible. In its approximation of the original, it initiates a movement between the foreign and the local, known and unknown (364). This movement both completes the cycle of translational stages, and points to the fundamental incompleteness of any act of translation, as all three stages repeat themselves endlessly. Like *Weltliteratur*, this cyclical theory of translation does not suggest a dissolution, or complete synthesis of source and target languages/nations; it demands rather a constant, intensified engagement in different translational formats that puts the concept of originality itself into question.

Goethe attributes the third stage of translation to Johann Heinrich Voss' breakthrough renditions of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (1781 and 1793) into German. Voss' close attention to the syntax, word order and forms of Greek, together with his approximation of Greek hexameter in German paved the way for a new tradition of foreignizing translations with an increasingly non-idiomatic use of German. Despite Friedrich Gottfried Kloppstock's initial criticism that Voss had "done violence to the idiom of the Germans" (qtd in Louth 26) by the turn of the century his translations had come to be regarded as classics. Alexander von Humboldt, who was highly influenced by Voss' attention to meter, expressed the significance of his work for the development of a German national literature in the introduction to his own translation of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1816).

Arguing that translators are as crucial as poets to the "Erweiterung der Bedeutsamkeit und der Ausdrucksfähigkeit der eigenen Sprache" [138, expansion of the significance and expressive capacity of one's own language], Humboldt cites Voss' innovative translations as an example of the German language's flexibility and openness to the foreign. His emphasis on the unique expressive capacity of German is nevertheless built into a larger theory of untranslatability. Drawing an essential relationship between language and culture, Humboldt's theory of untranslatability is based not simply on the original nature of the work being translated, but also on the nature of language itself. Arguing that no two words form absolute equivalents across languages (137), he describes words not as individual signs for a concept but rather as a network of ideas or a process of thinking: "Das unbestimmte Wirken der Denkkraft zieht sich in ein Wort zusammen wie leichte Gewölke am heitren Himmel

---

[30] Goethe defines the first stage as "Schlicht prosaisch:" "Es macht uns mit dem Auslande bekannt… [und überrascht] uns mitten in unserer nationellen Häuslichkeit, in unserem gemeinen Leben" (359). Luther's biblical translations are given as example of this stage. The second epoch of translation is described as "Parodistisch." In striving to make the source-text more accessible in translation, this type of translations ultimately domesticates that which is most foreign to the target-audience. Goethe cites Wieland's translations as exemplary of this stage (360).

entstehen" [137, The indeterminate activity of the power of thinking condenses into a word, just as light clouds originate in a blue sky]. The word is thus both an individual and a collective being. Within the text, it is the manifestation of a specific artist's imagination. Yet as a word that developed within specific cultural circumstances, it is also essentially national in character. Rather than understanding this as an obstacle, Humboldt sees this essential uniqueness of the original as a characteristic that demands translation, despite the seeming impossibility of this task. He develops a theory of fidelity that aims at precise imitation, even though the text can never be perfectly imitated in another language.

While the unique national character of language necessitates translation for Humboldt, it also leads to what can be seen as the ultimate limitations of his theory. In order for the expressive capacity of German to be brought about via translation, Humboldt describes an important threshold that must not be crossed; the translation should render the foreign (*das Fremde*) aspects of the original, but not its strangeness (*die Fremdheit*) in the target language. This would allow the target language to be completely overcome by the source language, leading to an undoing of the uniqueness of the original, which Humboldt depicts as a translational betrayal.

Goethe's cyclical model of translation can be read as an opening out of the national parameters of Humboldt's theory. The impossibility of fully completing the translational process is ultimately a liberating factor for Goethe. It leads into a series of translations and retranslations that not only serve different purposes, in mediating one another they also undermine the essential discreetness of national target and source languages. Considering Goethe's placement of this translation theory in the closing sections of his *Divan* it seems no coincidence that Goethe also figured the entire book as unfinished. In its first 1819 publication, the *Divan* contained a chapter titled "Künftiger Divan" [Future Divan], in which Goethe described the current state of his work as "unvollkommen" [270, incomplete or imperfect], and expressed the desire to eventually publish a second edition in all of its "Vollständigkeit" [270, completeness]. Notably, a second, 1827 publication of the *Divan*—which was expanded by 43 new poems—did not correspond to his own projections for revision eight years prior, and contained an exact replication of the original chapter "Künftiger Divan." While it is unlikely that Goethe ever planned to publish a third edition, the unchanged publication of this chapter raises theoretical questions regarding the fundamental openness of the text. Together with the cyclical nature of its structure—in which widely separated poems reflect one another thematically—this suggests that the *Divan* is itself exemplary of the translational time-space of Goethe's theory.

GOETHE'S *WERKSTATTSPLITTER* AND THE OTTOMAN DISORIENT

Goethe's figuration of the *Divan* as a fundamentally incomplete or imperfect text raises further questions regarding the approximately 300 documents—ranging from notes, sketches, excerpts, charts and poem drafts—in his personal archive categorized under this work. While many of these documents were not incorporated into the published version of the *Divan,* they nevertheless provide insight into the genesis of individual poems, and the texts Goethe engaged with while conceptualizing the work as a whole.[31]

---

[31] All materials from Goethe's personal archive related to the *Divan* have been reproduced in *Meine Schatz-kammer Füllt Sich Täglich: Die Nachlassstücke Zu Goethes West-östlichem Divan,* compiled and edited by

One archival document of note to Goethe's interest in Ottoman source texts is the May 1815 draft of a second (unpublished) dedication panel for the *Wiesbadener Divan*. Goethe's ability within this brief draft to draw diverse connections between pre-Islamic books of Arabic poetry, 13th-century Persian poetry and a collection of pre-Ottoman Turkic proverbs exemplifies the way Ottoman elements are drawn into the composite of places and authors that make up the *Divan*. Meant to balance out a December 1814 title page that referred specifically to the Persian poet Hafiz, this dedication closes with the following lines: "Die sittlichen Sternbilder / Kabus und Oguz / fest im Auge" [Bosse 518, The ethical constellations / Kabus and Oǧuz / locked in sight].

The words "Kabus" and "Oguz" here refer to Heinrich von Diez' translations *Buch des Kabus oder Lehren des persischen Königs Kjekjawus für seinen Sohn Ghilan Schach* [The Book of Kabus, or, Lessons of the Persian King Kjekjawus for his son Ghilan Schach, 1811]*,* and the twelfth section from volume I of his *Denkwürdigkeiten*, "Buch des Oghuz" [Book of Oǧuz], both of which Goethe read earlier in 1814. Goethe's use of the adjective "sittlich" [ethical] echoes lines 3-7 of the dedication, in which he references the ethically-didactic *Pand-name* [Book of Advice] of the 12th-century Persian Sufi poet Firadeddin.[32] In her study of the *Divan* archival material, Anke Bosse further traces Goethe's use of the word "Sternbilder" [constellations] to the title of Anton Theodor Hartmann's 1802 translation of the *Mu'allaqat*, an 8th-century collection of seven exemplary pre-Islamic Arabic poems mentioned in lines 13-17 of the dedication. Hartmann's title, *Die hellstrahlenden Plejaden am arabischen poetischen Himmel, oder Die sieben am Tempel zu Mekka aufgehangenen arabischen Gedichte* [The Luminous Pleiades in the Arabic Poetic Sky, or the Seven Arabic Poems Hanging on the Temple in Mecca, 1802], connects the meaning of the word *Mu'allaqat*—the suspended odes or hanging poems—to the beautiful and luminous constellation of stars known as the Pleiades. Visible to the naked eye due to their proximity to earth, Hartmann's title further connects these blue-hued stars to the common Arabic description of the *Mu'allaqat* poems as precious gems that hang in the mind and are watched in silence. Goethe's use of the single word "Sternbilder" could be read as a condensation of Hartmann's reference to the poems of the *Mu'allaqat* as the stars or gems of Arabic literature. As such, he draws a connection between these pre-Islamic poems and Diez' translations, suggesting their unique value to him as author. Bosse further argues that the phrase "fest im Auge" [locked in sight], suggests that beyond a metaphorical use of the Pleiades constellation, Goethe figures the translations of Diez as a kind of "Navigations-punkt," (Bosse 523) or site of ethical orientation.

A collection of approximately 200 proverbs that can be traced back to the Oghuz Turks, Diez' "Buch des Oghuz" emphasizes the significance of proverbs as phrases that maintain a unique national character, despite their tendency to migrate across cultures (161). Goethe notably reformulated Diez' depiction of proverbs as "national Zeugnisse" (162)—or signs of national mentality, customs and traditions—as "Sprichwort bezeichnet Nationen" [qtd in *Goethe und Diez* 103, proverbs denote nations] in the collection *Sprichwörtlich* (Proverbial). Despite Goethe's keen interest in proverbs as phrases that somehow reflect on their national origin, many of the *Divan* poems inspired by Diez' translations emphasize acts of transgression, suggesting that these proverbs gain value when they exceed the level of the

---

Anke Bosse. All archival materials used in this dissertation will be cited from this source.
[32] "Dem sittlichen Pend-Nameh des Firadeddin" (Bosse 517). Goethe was familiar with this work by way of de Silvestre de Sacys translations published in *Fundgruben des Orients*.

national. Consider, for example, the following couplet from "Hikmet Nameh – Buch der Sprüche" [Book of Proverbs], inspired by proverb 140 of Diez' translation:

Diez	Goethe
Tritt nicht über wie das Meer und umfasse keine Sache, welche du nicht ausrichten kannst.[33]	Das Meer fluthet immer Das Land behält es nimmer. (60, 12-13)
[Don't overflow like the ocean and don't embrace anything you cannot justify.]	[The sea is flowing ever, The land contains it never.] (66, 3-4)

Goethe's succinct couplet takes away the didactical character of the Oghuz saying through an expression of the inevitable. It both makes Diez' translation more explicit by bringing the opposition between land and water into direct visual focus, and creates an ambiguity in the second line regarding the pronoun "es" [it]. As the potential object or poetic subject of the line, it refers to both the water's inability to cover the land, and the land's inability to contain the water.

    The following parallel poem from the close of "Buch der Sprüche" suggests the significance of this overwhelming force of flooding for the realm of poetry:

Die Fluth der Leidenschaft, sie stürmt vergebens An's unbezwungene, feste Land.— Sie wirft poetische Perlen an den Strand, Und das ist schon Gewinn des Lebens. (68, 4-7)	[The flood of passion storms in vain The never conquered solid land.— Poetic pearls thrown on the strand And that, for living, is a gain.] (82, 4-7)

While these two poems are often read in conjunction as a reflection on the raw and uncontrollable forces of nature, the shore's inability to contain the poetic flood of passion is clearly figured in this second quatrain as positive. It suggests the circulation of poetic ideas in which the individual components—shore and land—cover and exceed one another, but do not simply merge. They engage rather in a constant ebb and tide that undermines simplistic one-way movement between self and other.

    Rather than providing an ethical *Navigationspunkt* [navigational site], such moments of excess are emblematic of the larger problem of orientation staged in the *Divan*, and the impossibility of identifying purely eastern or western spaces. As Kamaal Haque argues, Goethe "continually constructs what appear to be eastern spaces, only to undermine the stability of those spaces shortly thereafter" (233). Consider, for example, the first two stanzas of the opening poem "Hegire:"

---

[33] The Ottoman reads: "Deniz olup taşma, elinden gelemeyecek işe doluşma" [196, Don't overflow like the sea, don't crowd into an affair you are not able to take on; my transliteration, cited in original Arabic script in Diez].

Nord und West und Süd zersplittern,	[North and West and South—they shake!
Throne bersten, Reiche zittern:	Thrones are cracking, empires quake;
Flüchte du, im reinen Osten	To the purer East, then, fly
Patriarchenluft zu kosten!	Patriarchal air to try:
Unter Lieben, Trinken, Singen	Loving, drinking songs among,
Soll dich Chisers Quell verjüngen.	Khizer's rill will make you young.
Dort, im Rheinen und im Rechten,	There in what is pure and right,
Will ich menschlichen Geschlechten	Generation I, with might,
In des Ursprungs Tiefe dringen,	Urge to depth of origin
Wo sie noch von Gott empfingen	Where they from the Lord would win
Himmelslehr in Erdesprachen	Earthly-worded Heaven-lore;
Und sich nicht den Kopf zerbrachen	They will rack their brains no more.]
(7, 1-12).	(1, 5-16)

Here Goethe figures his own poetic journey as both a political flight from a fractured Europe, as well as a personal journey of rejuvenation. While this stanza clearly reiterates the orientalist trope of the East as a site of originary purity, the conception of civilization in the second stanza is actually quite multifaceted. The lines "Wo sie noch von Gott empfingen / Himmelsslehr in Erdesprachen" could refer to Moses' receiving of the Ten Commandments on Mt. Sinai, Mohammed's divine revelations in the Arabian Desert or Zoroaster's receiving the Zend-Avesta in ancient Persia (*arabische Welt* 92). Only in the following stanza is the poem clearly locatable in the Arabian desert. The lines "Wie das Wort so wichtig dort war / Weil es ein gesprochen Wort war" (7), refers to the divine revelations Mohammed received as spoken word. As this stanza suggests, the "East" in Goethe's *Divan* is often actually a composite of several different places, at times also including Ancient Greece (as, for example, in "Buch Suleika," and "Sommernacht").

Such mixing of eastern and western references raises the question as to where the *Divan*'s textual journey leads its reader and reflects a problematic of *Weltorientierung* that developed throughout the 18th century. In a time of great European expeditions and increased colonial expansion, the need for reliable world maps grew immensely. The impossibility of rendering three-dimensional space accurately on a two-dimensional map, together with the absence of an identifiable East-West meridian nevertheless rendered the very concept of orientation problematic. Whether isogonic or homolographic, maps are only truly to scale at the point the imaginary globe touches its projected space on paper. And unlike the North-South axis, on which one's relative position can be determined through reference to the sun and stars; there are no earthly signs that reveal one's easterly or westerly location (Müller-Sievers 16-18).

In the absence of reliable signs, the concept of geographical and cartographic orientation developed into a more specific problematic of self-orientation (*sich orientieren*), as is exemplified by the following definition from Grimm's dictionary (1889): "aus ital. orientare, franz orienter, trans. u reflexive. (in Ermangelung der Magnetnadel) aus seiner bekannten Weltgegend die übrigen, namentlich die Östliche zu finden suchen, dann überhaupt, in eine Gegend, in einen Raum, in eine Lage oder rein Verhältnis sich zurechtfinden" [qtd in Stegmaier 61, from the Italian *orientare*, French *orienter*, trans. and reflexive. (in absence of the compass needle) to try to find the excess—namely the East—of his familiar worldly location, and generally, to orient oneself in an area, a space, a situation or a relationship].

That the task of orienting oneself is measured upon the ability to locate the East as opposed to the West is due to the etymology of the word Orient itself. Derived from the Latin *oriens*, it can be translated as *sich erhebend*, soaring or uplifting, and designates the space of the Orient as the land that lies in the direction of the rising sun (*sol oriens*). Accordingly, the verb "orientieren" (to orient) originally meant "dem Osten zuwenden" [Stegmaier 55, to turn toward the East]. Grimm's quote—which identifies the East as the unknown, or excess (die übrigen) of an implied West—suggests the development of a problematic form of *Weltorientierung* or global/worldly self-positioning that is nevertheless impossible to achieve with accuracy. It points to the problematic of the word "Orient" as a non-locatable space that changes according to one's own position. Any attempt to locate the East thus reveals one's own position to be unstable.

Goethe's depiction of Diez' Ottoman translations as "Sternbilder" could be read as emblematic of such spatial instability*:* within the context of the *Divan* they become navigational signs that nevertheless reveal the impossibility of a clear-cut system of East-West orientation. This idea gains validity within the cosmic imagery of "Suleika Nameh – Buch Suleika" [Book of Zuleika], which forms the core of the *Divan*'s poetic section. The following motto to this book is adapted from a distichon of Sultan Selim I, quoted in translation in Diez' *Denkwürdigkeiten*:

Ich gedachte in der Nacht	[I was thinking in the night,
Dass ich den Mond sähe im Schlaf;	That in sleep I saw the moon;
Als ich aber erwachte,	But when I awakened,
Ging unvermutet die Sonne auf. (71, 1-4)	Unawaitedly the sun arose.] (86, 1-4)

Goethe gives this quote a proverbial character by breaking it into four, short lines. While originally intended for "Hikmet Nameh – Buch der Sprüche," Goethe later decided to position this poem more prominently as the motto for "Buch Suleika." This decision is particularly significant considering Goethe's first "encounter" with the Ottoman Empire in 1758: At the age of eight, he was given the task of translating the following from German into Latin: "In dem Türckischen Reiche ist Selimus Kayser worden, nachdem er seinen Vatter Bajazet umgebracht und seinen Bruder Zizimus verjaget hatte" [*Orient* 243, Selimus has become Kaiser in the Turkish Empire, after murdering his father Beyazid and chasing away his brother Zizimus]. Such model sentences were commonly used to emphasize the barbaric character of Ottoman rulers during the period of *Türkenfurcht* in the 18th century. What does it mean for Goethe to incorporate a quote of a feared Ottoman ruler into the love story at the center of his *Divan*? In contrast to the kind of educational indoctrination he experienced as a child, it underscores Diez' desire to depict Sultan Selim I not simply as political ruler, but also as a poet, thinker and person.

As Arthur Henkel convincingly argues, this motto becomes the core of a "Traum-Tag- und Sonne-Mond-Symbolismus" [257, dream-day and sun-moon symbolism] that develops throughout the poetic dialogues of "Buch Suleika." The series of oppositions it encapsulates—Mond/Sonne [moon/sun], erwachen/schlafen [wake/sleep], Nacht/Tag [night and the implied light of day]—repeats in different forms throughout the book in cycles of union, separation, and reunion with the beloved. Within the book, the opposition of sun and moon becomes a symbol of cosmic-erotic conjunction:

Die Sonne kommt! Ein Prachterscheinen!	[The rising sun, a splendor shining!
Der Sichelmond umklammert sie.	The sickle-moon enclasped it round.
Wer konnte solch ein Paar vereinen?	To solve the riddle, your divining
Dies Rätsel, wie erklärt sichs? Wie?	In time the answer will have found!]
(77, 1-4)	(94, 1-4)

This reference to the crescent or sickle moon—an important symbol for the Ottoman Empire—is significant in relation to Goethe's later figuration of the sun as Helios—personification and god of the sun in Greek mythology (92, 1-4, 23-24)—within the same book; it suggests a specifically Ottoman role in the East-West love affair of Hatem and Suleika.

That the Ottoman element in this relationship contributes to a complex portrayal of the "East" in the *Divan* is underscored by a later stanza in "Buch Suleika" also taken from Diez' *Denkwürdigkeiten:*

Bist du von deiner Geliebten getrennt	[When from your love you're riven, rent
Wie Orient von Okzident,	As Orient from Occident,
Das Herz durch alle Wüsten rennt;	The heart is through the desert sent—
Es gibt sich überall selbst das Geleit,	Our guide no matter what we are.
Für Liebende ist Bagdad nicht weit.	Bagdad—for lovers—can't be far!]
(86, 1-5)	(104, 5-9)

This poem is inspired by a scene from Diez' translations of "Spiegel der Länder" [The Mirror of Countries], the travelogues of the Ottoman diplomat Kjatibi Rumi. In response to a Chan's attempts to dissuade Rumi from traveling to Bagdad, he recites a line from the Divan of the famous Ottoman poet Necati: "Wenn's von dir bis zur Geliebten so weit seyn sollte, als vom Orient zu Occident: so lauf nur, o Herz! Denn für Liebende ist Bagdad nicht weit" [Diez 232, If the distance between you and your lover should be so far, as from Orient to Occident: then simply run, oh heart! For lovers Bagdad is not far].[34] By contrasting the desert to the urban setting of Bagdad, Goethe's transformation of this quote puts forth a seemingly insurmountable geographic barrier, only to then break it down through a collapsing of otherwise oppositional spaces and the suggested ability of love to overcome even unthinkable distances. As such, it reveals the difficulty in discursively locating the diverse "oriental" textual geographies of the *Divan*, of which the Ottoman Empire, and Ottoman literary texts comprise an important part.

The "distance" from Orient to Occident expressed in the original quote is further complicated by Goethe's position as an "occidental" author with access to orientalist scholarship and texts in translation. Within the context of "Buch Suleika" and the *Divan* as a whole, it suggests the need to reflect on the role translations played within orientalist discourse for the construction of an assumed distance between West and East. This is a question central to any reading of the *Divan*, which drew its inspiration overwhelmingly from texts in translation. As the poetic interpretation of a translation of a quote by an Ottoman statesmen *quoting* Necati, this stanza in particular suggests the need to consider the *Divan* as a fundamentally mediated text that reflects critically on its own methods of representation.

While the *Divan* represents a very different period in Goethe's life and work, scenes such as this speak back to issues in *Werther* regarding the inherently translational nature of modern subjectivity and the impossibility of an unmediated narrative voice. By reflecting on

---

[34] Diez does not provide the original text for this particular scene.

and extending this impossibility to the Ottoman context, the group of *Werther* translations discussed in section one bring such issues to bear on late Ottoman authors' encounters with western European literature via translation. As a group of texts the *Werther* translations stage a salient debate regarding methods of translation and the value of European literature for the development of a modern Turkish literary canon; in contrast to theories of translational influence or importation, which fuel perceptions of Turkey's belatedness vis-à-vis the "West," they reveal the power of omnidirectional translational practices to effectively place the authenticity of a source text into question. Considering Germany and Turkey's assumed roles on the center and periphery of a global modernity, such practices undermine the validity of assumedly fixed categories of analysis such as West/East, modern/pre-modern and original/translation.

As a text that prefigured the first translations from German into Ottoman by 65 years, Goethe's *Divan* both counters a late Ottoman devaluation of its own tradition of Divan poetry, and engages in diverse forms of translational practices that undermine the concept of fidelity as an ultimate goal. As such, it suggests the need for different forms of translational practice for different purposes, which underscores the value of the Ottoman *Werther* translations as an emergent form of literary criticism, and self-commentary on the state of the Ottoman language. Finally, by incorporating aspects of diverse source texts—including Ottoman sayings, poetry and travelogues—into the larger framework of his *Divan*, Goethe brings different times and traditions into direct textual contact. The spatial and temporal forms of destabilization this enacts work against orientalist practices of discursively locating an "eastern" Other, suggesting rather the impossibility of ever precisely orienting oneself on a West/East world axis.

Together, the *Werther* translations and the Ottoman elements of Goethe's *Divan* attest to diverse forms of German Ottoman literary contact throughout the 19th century that do not function along a strictly unidirectional movement from West to East. They thus pose a challenge to the conceptualization of modernity along scales of development, through which a certain group's present is defined as another group's future. On the contrary, they theorize complex forms of translation and demand nonlinear methods of comparison that work against the concept of originality itself.

CHAPTER TWO

꩜

Complicating the Premise of Smooth Translatability

A seminal author of early 20th-century Turkish literary modernism, Sabahattin Ali's (1907-1948) life and work attest to his multifaceted interests and talents; in addition to poetry, short stories, and novels, Ali published satirical journalistic prose, worked as a literary translator and simultaneous interpreter, and produced a significant portfolio as an amateur photographer. While newly edited volumes of Ali's articles (1998), court documents and prison notes (2004), letters (2008), and photographs, have begun to shed light on the complexity of his career, secondary scholarship on his literary output remains limited and largely centered around select publications.[35]

In this chapter I explore a central, but largely overlooked aspect of Ali's literary legacy: his theoretical reflections on literary translation and his role as German to Turkish translator and editor for the state-sponsored *Tercüme Bürosu* [Translation Bureau] between the years of 1940 and 1944. My interest in Ali's work as translator is closely tied to a recent revival of his literature in both Turkey and abroad. His final novel *Kürk Mantolu Madonna* [1943, *The Madonna in the Fur Coat*], for example, has been among the top ten bestselling books in Turkey for the past five years. At the time of its serialized publication in *Hakikat* newspaper (1940-41), this novel received little to no attention, to the extent that Ali was even denied compensation for his work. The novel's initial non-reception was compounded by Ali's mysterious murder on the Bulgarian border in 1948, which led to a ban on the sale and further publication of his literature until 1965. Recent translations of *Madonna* in particular—into French (2007), German (2008), Russian (2010), Albanian (2010), Croatian (2012) and Arabic (2012)—attest to a noticable turn in this reception history, and a burgeoning international interest in Ali's work.[36]

Yet even as *Madonna* makes its way into diverse other languages, this novel in particular offers a complex reflection on the concept of translatability as it relates historically to the time period of its publication (1943), and to the contemporary moment. It is no coincidence that the main character, Raif, works as a German to Turkish translator for an Ankara bank. Zeynep Seviner has described Raif—who is introverted to the extreme—as a metaphor for the invisibility of the translator and the labor of translation ("Between

---

[35] Starting with Berna Moran's discussion of *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* [*Yusuf the Taciturn*] in his three volume *Türk Romanına Eleştirel bir Bakış* [*A Critical Look at the Turkish Novel*], secondary scholarship has emphasized the important role Sabahattin Ali played for the development of social realism in Turkey. A significant amount of scholarship has also been dedicated to understanding the mysterious conditions surrounding his death. The 2013 edited volume *Sabahattin Ali* offers a welcome array of new approaches to this central but largely under-researched figure; contributions focus on issues such as the progressive nature of Sabahattin Ali's female characters, famous adaptations of Ali's poetry to song, and Ali's satirical writings for the journal *Markopaşa*.

[36] Translations into Spanish, Italian, Dutch, and English are forthcoming. The English language translation is scheduled to come out with Penguin Classics in early 2016.

Languages").[37] Indeed, despite his earlier experiences in 1920s Weimar Berlin, Raif hides his linguistic and cultural competencies to the extent that colleagues even doubt the validity of his German skills.

Building on Seviner's argument, I argue further that Raif embodies the figure of an anti-translator, thereby underscoring a larger theoretical reflection on the very concept of translatability; notably, Raif's seeming invisibility within *Madonna* stands in contrast to a heightened visibility of translation at the time of the novel's publication, in which a wide-reaching, state-sponsored translation movement was endorsed and set into motion. Through a World Literature in Translation series (*Dünya Edebiyatından Tercümeler*), 1,247 titles of mainly western European literature were rendered into Turkish between the yeas of 1940 and 1966. With the goal of systematically translating the classics of Greek, Latin, and more contemporary western European literatures, this series sought to engender a Turkish renaissance and specific form of Turkish humanism that emphasized similarities between East and West, in order to forge a common cultural repertoire for citizens of the new Republic ("Revisiting" 114).

In reading the figure of Raif as an anti-translator, I argue that Ali works against the premise of smooth translatability that underscored wide-ranging Republican humanist reforms, and that treated modernization, nationalization, and westernization as problem-free processes. In support of this argument, I read Ali's translation of Heinrich von Kleist's *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* [1811, *The Betrothal in Santo Domingo*,] together with *Madonna*, in order to explore the ways in which Ali's literary production overlapped with his translation practice. Ali's translation of *Verlobung*—which first appeared in the journal *Tercüme* [Translation] in 1940 as *San Domingo'da bir Nişanlanma*—incidentally coincided with the serialization of *Madonna*; both texts were subsequently published in book format in 1943.[38]

Taking the Kleistian references in *Madonna* into account, I ask how *Verlobung*, together with Ali's translation of it, reflects back on the structure of Ali's final novel. In particular, I consider the correspondence between central, unnarrated moments of sexual union in each text. As critical "Leerstellen" (Iser "Appellstruktur") or gaps, these moments of non-narration both create epistemological uncertainty and actively engage the reader as crosscultural interpreter. Through the use of a frame narrative, Ali figures the narrator of *Madonna* as one such interpreter, who must fill in the gaps of the main character's life story by *reading* the diary of his youth. In my analysis, I argue that the text of *Madonna* is furthermore tied to *Ali's* reading and translation of Kleist. The subtextual structures and semantic ambiguities Kleist builds into *Verlobung* find a counterpoint in the various types of surfaces Ali engages with in *Madonna*. In particular, I show how Ali brings a critical investigation of Weimar surface culture as it relates to the *Neue Frau* [New Woman] of the time period to bear on the diverse façades of Republican Ankara and the Turkish modernization project.

By pointing to the contradictory nature of its literary underside, I argue that Ali's translation of *Verlobung* works together with his final novel, *Madonna,* to complicate the Republican premise of smooth translatability, and thus also the stable category of the "West"

---

[37] Seviner refers here to Lawrence Venuti's *The Translator's Invisibility* (1995); Venuti develops a theory of invisibility here with regard to Anglophone expectations for legibility and transparency in translated texts.
[38] Ali's translation of *Verlobung* was included in the collection *Üc Romantik Hikaye* [*Three Romantic Stories*] which appeared in 1943; this collection also included Ali's translations of Adelbert von Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl's Wundersame Geschichte* [trans. as *Peter Schlemihl'in acayip Sergüzeşti*] and E.T.A. Hoffmann's "Doge und Dogaresse" [trans. as "Duka ile Karısı"].

it presumes. Whereas translation activity was one crucial arena through which Turkey sought to emerge as an independent political entity that identified itself as European, Ali poses the more difficult question of what "western" values themselves might be: the question of what it means to adopt, import or transfer European humanist ideals to Turkey is thoroughly complicated when those ideals are revealed to be largely perpetuated through surface images.

By situating Ali's engagement with German literature and culture within the rhetoric of translatability in 1930s and 1940s Turkey, this chapter also serves as a point of opening to a structural analysis of the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair, "Turkey in All Its Colors," in Chapter Four. Translated into German in 2008, *Madonna* offers a prescient commentary on the staging of German-Turkish relations at one of the largest, most international book fairs in the world. With the German translation, made possible through support from the Translation and Publication Grant Programme (TEDA) run by the Turkish Ministry of Culture, the appearance of *Madonna* in Frankfurt opens the questions of translatability and westernization I discuss in this chapter to the dynamics of the global market, and the international circulation and reception of Turkish literature in the 21st century.

SECTION ONE

~

Situating Sabahattin Ali in a Transnational Context

Sabahattin Ali was born into a turbulent political context: in his youth and adolescence he experienced World War I (1914-1918), the Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923) and the transformation of the Ottoman Empire into the modern Republic of Turkey (1923); in his late teens and early 20s, the newly founded Republic undertook significant legal, political, cultural and linguistic reforms aimed at modernizing and westernizing Turkish society.[39] As an author and intellectual, Ali was thus of a generation trained in the old language and its literary traditions, which also actively partook in modernization processes that sought to overwrite them.

Even though Ali was a seminal author of the early Republican period,[40] his diverse oeuvre attests to his ambivalent stance toward the large-scale cultural reforms at hand. As a committed socialist well read in Marxist literature, Ali's short stories and first novel *Kuyucaklı Yusuf* were central to the establishment of social realism (*toplumsal gerçekcilik*) in Turkey.[41] Yet his literature covers a diverse range of subject matters, from the social fabric of rural Anatolian life to the intellectual and bohemian circles of pre-World War II Istanbul. Drawn to social outsiders and lonesome figures on the margins of society, Ali weaves socially critical information into his characters' inner monologues, identity crises and ill-fated love stories, creating a form of social commentary his good friend and fellow author Pertev Naili Boratav described as psychological realism.[42] In this regard, his novels *İçimizdeki Şeytan* [1940, *The Devil Within Us*] and *Madonna* (1943), were both central to the development of literary modernism in Turkey.

At the same time Ali was quite familiar with the rules and prosody of classical Divan poetry, and his earlier work attests to his own experimentation with Ottoman literary forms.[43] Ali's "Seyahatname-i Südlice" [The Travelogue of Südlice], for example, is composed in the style of Evliya Çelebi's momentous travelogue,[44] but details a boat trip down the Bosphorous he took with friends. An additional travelogue, entitled "Mufassal Cermenistan Seyahatnamesi" [1928, The Detailed Germanistan Travelogue], offers a particularly witty

---

[39] Reforms included but were not limited to the adaptation of the European 24-hour day, a new system of secular primary and secondary schools, creation of a family law, increased women's rights, abolishment of the Şeriat courts and adaptation of the Swiss Civil Code.

[40] The early Republican period refers to the single party period of the Turkish Republic and the first four years of the multi-party system (1923–50).

[41] Social realism developed out of the nationalist literature of the very early Republican era (approximately 1923–32), which was often allegorical in nature. Representatives of social realism strove for a realistic portrayal of daily life; the short stories of Sait Faik, for example, depict in beautiful detail the life of Istanbul's lower classes and ethnic minorities. The novels of writers such as Orhan Kemal and Yaşar Kemal grew out of the social realist movement, but their focus on rural Anatolia established the village novel as a genre in its own right. Sabahattin Ali's work does not fall perfectly into either of these categories, but was influenced by, and influenced both.

[42] For an insightful discussion of this term in relation to Ali's work, see Erika Glassen's afterword to the German translation of *Icimizdeki Şeytan* [trans. as *Der Dämon in uns,* 2009].

[43] Ali also composed a "Terkib-i bend"—or a traditional long poem with recurrent couplet at the end of each stanza. He sent this poem to Mustafa Seyit Sütüven in the form of a personal letter in 1928 from Germany.

[44] Evliya Çelebi's (1611-1682) ten-volume *Seyahatnâme*, or travelogue, details forty years of travels through the Ottoman Empire. Ali clearly plays off the style of Çelebi's work, which employs exaggeration, inventive fiction or heresay, and misinterpretation.

account of Ali's first impressions of Potsdam, Germany. As part of a larger initiative at creating a new Turkish intellectual youth educated in western European languages, Ali received a four-year government grant to study language, literature and philosophy in Berlin and Potsdam in 1928 at the age of 21.[45] Ali's decision to document his participation in this early phase of the Republican modernization process via a form of outdated Ottoman demonstrates more than simply his familiarity with and mastery of the old language. Written on the eve of the *Harf İnkılabı*—or the letter revolution of 1928, that replaced the Perso-Arabic script of Ottoman with a new Latin alphabet—Ali's fictionalized travelogue reverses the underlying purpose of these reforms. Consider, for example, his tongue-in-cheek "etymological" investigation of the word "Potsdam":

> Potsdam kelimesi, iştikaakıyyun-ı zamândan Hayrullah Molla Beyin tefsiri üzere "Put," "sedd," "üm" kelimelerinden mürekkeb olup, "Put" ma'lum olduğu üzere kenâ'is-i Küffârda mevcud Hıristos tâsaviri ile heyâkil makuulesi esnâmdır; sedd kapamak, örtmek, setr eylemek, Ümm vâlide burada Meryem Ana mânasındadır. Cümlesi toplu olarak, kübizm üzere Meryem Vâlide, esnâmı setr eyle! demek olur. (351)

> [The word Potsdam, the etymology of which, according to the interpretation of Hayrullah Molla Bey, consists of the words "idol" (put), "covering" (sedd), and "mother" (üm). "Idol," as is known, is a shrine present in the churches of the unbelievers (non-muslims) in the form of Christian portraits and statues; "sedd" means to close, cover or conceal; "mother" here means the Mother Mary. All together, according to cubism, this means: "Mother Mary, cover the idol!"]

In contrast to a Republican realignment of the modern Turkish language and culture with a Greco-Roman heritage, Ali rewrites a German place name via Ottoman vocabulary in the Perso-Arabic script.[46] The obviously illogical nature of this endeavor also arguably puts Republican portrayals of the Latin script as a "natural" representation of modern Turkish into question. Despite its clearly foreign origins, the Latin script was treated as a "native" element of national Turkish culture, while the old Perso-Arabic script was marked as both illegible and alien (Ertürk, *Grammatology* 91-93).[47] Within Ali's account, it is rather the word "Potsdam" that becomes illegible and unrecognizable.

As such, this passage also presciently reveals an element of the absurd in the search for etymological origins—a project that would come to define Turkish language reform in the 1930s. Marked by attempts at excising all Persian and Arabic vocabulary from the language, this period of reform also sought to uncover a more essential or pure form of Turkish, in part by recovering pre-14th century words of Turkic origin that had fallen out of usage under the influence of Ottoman. This passage thus speaks back to the title of Ali's travelogue, which includes the fabricated place name *Cermenistan*. Derived from the word *Cermen*, meaning Teutons, Ali describes the present day inhabitants of Potsdam through reference to the ancient Germanic peoples who inhabited northern Europe. Central to the humor of Ali's

---

[45] Ali was one of 15 intellectuals sent abroad; five scholarships were granted for Germany, France, and England, respectively.

[46] This short text was originally written as a private letter in the Ottoman script to Ali's good friend Peter Naili Borotav; it was first printed in transliterated form in the 1979 collected volume *Sabahattin Ali*. The English translation is my own.

[47] In order to create a purely phonetic alphabet, the new script utilized Latin letters with diacritical markings from German, Romanian, French, and Hungarian.

pseudo-historical travelogue, this fictionalized name also pokes fun at the essentialization of contemporary cultural identities through recourse to ancient historical predecessors.

The critical, yet light-hearted nature of this passage is characteristic of the travelogue as a whole, which reveals Ali's ambivalence toward modernization processes being undertaken in the early Republican period. Ali's comic reference to Cubism—as an unlikely extension of the Ottoman Mullah's interpretation—furthemore speaks to larger issues that resurface in *Madonna*, a novel that also documents Ali's experiences in Germany, albeit in a radically different language. As a modern art form in which the subject is abstracted and represented from multiple points of view, the interpretation of Potsdam through the rules of Cubism suggests the need—within the Republican project of westernization—to also approach the category of the "West" from such a critical perspective.

As a second, fictionalized account of the time Ali spent in Germany, *Madonna* arguably does this as well, through a much subtler form of irony. In his youth, for example, the main character Raif is shown reading works of European literature in translation. Caught up in a world of his imagination, Raif devours (*kasıp kavurmak* 49) the classics of Russian and French to escape the political reality of war-torn Turkey in the years following WWI. Upon arriving in Berlin, he expresses surprise at the incommensurability of his textual experience of Europe and the reality of this city:

> Burası da en nihayet bir şehirdi. Sokakları biraz daha geniş, çok daha temiz, insanları daha sarışın bir şehir. Fakat ortada insanı hayretinden düşüp bayılmaya sevk edecek bir şey de yoktu. Benim hayalimdeki Avrupa'nın nasıl bir şey olduğunu ve şimdi içinde yaşadığım şehrin buna nazaran ne noksanları bulunduğunu kendim de bilmiyordum…Hayatta hiçbir zaman kafamızdaki kadar harikulade şeyler olmayacağını henüz idrak etmemiştim. 51

> [Ultimately, this was just another city. A city with wider streets—much cleaner, and with blonder people. But there was nothing about it that would make a person swoon with awe. For my part, I was still unaware what kind of a thing the Europe of my dreams had been, and how much the city I was now living in lacked, in comparison to that image… It had not yet dawned on me how the mind can produce the most stupendous projections of all.] (55)[48]

Raif's localization of Europe at large in Weimar Berlin exposes the projection of a unified Europe—understood as representative of the "West"—as fantasy. More than an expression of disjuncture between the realms of imagination and reality, however, this passage asks what it means to "read," and thus also to textualize the idea of Europe.

In the following section, I ask how these very issues were central to translation rhetoric at the time of *Madonna*'s publication. Before doing so, I want to address briefly how these same issues were central to Ali's own life experiences. His closest friends recall his unbridled passion for reading—sparked in part by the diverse literature he discovered via the German language. While Ali broke off his studies in Germany after only one and a half years, his experiences abroad made an indelible impact on his life and work. The German language served not only as a point of departure into German literature and culture, Ali also read the great works of Russian literature—such as those by Gogol, Tolstoy, Turgenev, Chekhov and Gorky—in German translation, and translated works of antiquity—such as Sophocles' *Antigone*—into Turkish from German. In contrast to a reductive textualization of Europe as

---

[48] All English citations are from Gramling and Hepkaner's forthcoming translation of *Madonna*. In the case where there is no citation, the translation is my own.

an essentialized idea, Ali's textual experience of Europe attests to a mutual mediation of literatures through their international circulation and translation.

It was precisely Ali's passion for literature and language learning that gained him a position as government employee. Even as he was later imprisoned for his politically critical writings, his German skills did not go unnoticed by the state: he worked as a German teacher in Aydın (1930), Konya (1931), and Ankara (1935), and was often called upon as an expert of German literature for government sponsored projects, such as the *İnönü Ansiklopedisi* (Inönü Encyclopedia);[49] he was further employed as a simultaneous interpreter for the German-Jewish exile and dramaturgist Carl Ebert at the Ankara State Conservatory, and he was a founding member of the state-funded translation bureau in 1940.

These diverse positions Ali held as state employee were enabled by wide-reaching humanist cultural reforms that targeted the publishing and education sectors. Initiated by the Minister of Education (*Maarif Vekili*) Hasan Ali Yücel in 1939,[50] reforms included the establishment of *köy enstitüleri*, or village institutes that trained and enabled teachers to establish local schools (1940), a *tercüme bürosu* [translation bureau, 1940], *devlet konservatuvarı* [state conservatory, 1941], and a *milli kütüphane* [national library, 1946].

Reforms enacted in the 1940s were preceded by a crucial overhauling of the *Darülfünun* [House of Knowledge, established in 1863], the first institution of higher education in the Ottoman Empire modeled on the European university system. Refounded as Istanbul University in 1933, the restructuring of this university to promote the Europeanization of scholarship and disciplinary practices was greatly aided by prominent academic German-Jewish émigrés escaping from National Socialism. Significant research has been devoted to this aspect of the reform process; the kind of comparative philological scholarship generated by émigrés and their Turkish colleagues in this time period has been heralded by scholars such as Emily Apter as representative of "transnational humanism or global *translatio*" (*Translation Zone* 46) and a founding moment for the contemporary field of comparative literature.

In her detailed analysis of the time period, however, Kader Konuk reveals how the kind of humanism that emerged in Turkey during the 1930s and 40s served primarily national, rather than transnational interests. Transnationalism, she writes, implies "the outcome of an exchange between individuals and communities, independent of the interests of nation-states" (*Mimesis* 75), through which individual actors exercise their agency to transgress national borders. On the contrary, the *Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft* [Emergency Association of German Science], which facilitated the hiring of German-Jewish émigrés both at Istanbul University and later diverse institutions throughout Turkey, negotiated directly with representatives of the Turkish nation-state. Throughout this process, German academics were not "rescued" on humanitarian grounds, but were often instrumentalized within larger political processes, as they were carefully selected for their academic qualifications and potential in modernizing and Europeanizing the secondary education system in Turkey (75). Overall, Konuk argues, the humanist reforms "were part of a national agenda that linked its success to its capacity for overcoming cultural differences

---

[49] See, for example, director of the State Conservatory in Ankara Orhan Şaik Gökyay's letter from June 19, 1941, which requests Ali's opinion on a Turkish translation, and Nahit Sırrı Örik's letter from 2 February 1943, which consults Ali as an expert in German literature for the purposes of the İnönü Encyclopedia project.

[50] Yücel assumed the position of Minister of Education on 28 January 1938 under İsmet İnönü, the second president of Turkey following Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's death in 1938.

between East and West. The modernization reforms promoted sameness with Western Europe but simultaneously maintained a notion of national particularity" (74).

Through my reading of Ali's Kleist translation and its relationship to *Madonna* in the following sections, I argue that his engagement with the humanist reform process via his employment at the translation bureau offers a significant counter voice to this heightened nationalism of 1940s Turkey; his engagement with German literature and culture furthermore goes beyond the kind of Europhilia endorsed during the time period to offer both a critical view of Germany and Turkey's relationship to it.

Secondary scholarship on the translation bureau has largely treated the systematized form of publishing it supported as an instance of culture planning, defined as the "deliberate intervention," either by power holders or by 'free agents,' "into an extant or a crystallizing repertoire" (Even-Zohar 278). In her analysis of private publishing efforts in the 1940s and 50s, Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar emphasizes the need to view translation efforts of this time period not simply as processes shaped by pre-determined norms, but also as the result of individual decision-making (*Poetics* 24-25). In doing so, she takes a step back from the institutional framework of the bureau and engages in case studies of private translation initiatives produced outside of its context.[51] In conclusion, Gürçağlar claims that while a form of official culture planning in the realms of language, publishing, and translation existed, private publishers and translators formed an important counterforce that "resisted the norms offered by the dominant discourse of the planners" (*Poetics* 31).

Building on Gürçağlar's much-needed intervention in the field of translation studies in the modern Republic of Turkey, which has been dominated by the rhetoric of official culture planning, I ask further: to what extent did voices coming from *within* the bureau itself also resist dominant translation discourses and norms? As an author who critically engaged with the shortcomings of modernity, and the conception of modernity as a monolithic or western discourse, Ali is a particularly interesting case study in response to this question. He was both an active and founding member of the bureau, at the same time that his literary and translational output offered an implicit criticization of the rhetoric surrounding such projects from within. This, I argue, is where the potential lies in locating Ali as a transnational author in an otherwise highly nationalistic age.

In the only piece of secondary scholarship that specifically addresses Ali's translational practice, Sabri Gürses situates Ali within a larger, cultural "search" for a delineated program of translation in the early Republic (*bir kültür ve çeviri programı arayışı içinde[dir]* 414); as such, Gürses views Ali as central to the formation of an intellectual discourse that utilized translation—understood as a form of cultural transfer (*kültür aktarımı*)—as a means for constructing a national Turkish culture (414). I argue on the contrary that we must rather understand Ali's participation in the larger translation movement as a *counterpoint* to the concepts of transfer that emerged shortly preceding and in the immediate wake of the bureau's founding.

While Ali enthusiastically supported the translation of western European literatures, his writing also reveals a more ambivalent view of the "West" than that of dominant translation discourse in Turkey at the time. In contrast to the assumption of a stable category of western European ideals and values that could be transferred into the Turkish context at

---

[51] Gürçağlar focuses specifically on works translated from English. In this field, she reveals that only 10% of all translations were published through the translation bureau; 91% of novels; 100% of peoples books, and 98.5% of children's books translated from English were published by private publishing houses (*Poetics* 30-33).

face value, Ali's work points time and again to the contradictions and inconsistencies of western modernity. I develop this argument in the following section through a detailed analysis of the bureau, as well as Ali's role in the circumstances of its establishment, productivity, and legacy.

"TRANSLATING THE WEST": SABAHATTIN ALI AND THE TRANSLATION BUREAU

Similar to the late Ottoman context I examine in chapter one, the role of literary translations vis-à-vis the development of the modern Turkish language and the Europeanization of Turkish society continued to be a source of intense public debate in the early Republican period. Following the establishment of the modern Republic of Turkey in 1923, calls for a comprehensive, systematized, and government-funded program of translation began to gain ground throughout the 1930s; a programmatic approach to translation activity was posited as a much-needed corrective to what intellectuals described as the inadequate and erroneous nature of late Ottoman translation movements.

The field of translation became one crucial site from which the newly founded Republic asserted itself over and against its Ottoman predecessor. In particular, following the adoption of a Latin script in 1928, and major language reforms throughout the mid 1930s, the translation of western European classics became a crucial means for building a new discursive center for Turkish society. Within the model of modernization as westernization undertaken by the Republican People's Party, translation activity was understood as central to Turkey's immersion in the history of European thought, and its successful participation in contemporary European civilization.[52]

The first full-length book of the Republican period to deal with issues of translation in the Ottoman and Turkish context is Hilmi Ziya Ülken's *Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü* [1935, The Role of Translation in Periods of Awakening]. Here Ülken argues that translation plays a key role in all periods of national awakening, as it raises important questions regarding the production and expression of ideas in that nation's mother tongue. This national awakening coincides, in Ülken's thought, to that nation's entering into a larger, universal concept of civilization.

Here it is significant that while Ülken identifies "*tek bir* medeniyet" [11, one single civilization, my emphasis], his depiction of civilization in the introduction is by no means static: "[Medeniyet], insan toplulukları arasındaki karşılıklı tesirlerin büyümesi, çoğalması ve genişlemesidir… Karşılıklı tesirler kompleksine karışan her yeni unsur, onu bir parça daha geniş, biraz daha uzvi (organik) bir hale getirir" [11, [civilization] is the growth, multiplication and expansion of mutual influence between human communities... Every new element that merges into this complex of mutual influence brings it into a more comprehensive, more organic state]. This suggests a system of acculturation,[53] which is supported by Ülken's utilization of Max Scheler's metaphor of each nation as a new stream

---

[52] Another author and translator I do not discuss explicitly in this chapter is Yaşar Nabi Nayır, who argues in *Edebiyatımızın Bugünkü Meseleleri* [*Current Issues in our Literature*] that translation is vital to the development of a modern Turkish canon; following major cultural reforms with strong ramifications for the realms of literature and language, Nayır argues that the Turkish literary canon has been cut off from its Ottoman heritage, and should turn instead to the literature of ancient Greece in its establishment of a new literary culture (162).

[53] In contrast to assimilation, or the process through which a minority group is absorbed into a dominant culture, acculturation implies a mutual influence in which elements of two cultures merge.

of water entering the current of universal civilization. This nation mixes in with the dominant current, but not without bringing something of its own identity *to* that current.[54] Rather than an importation of material from the "West," Ülken's suggests that Turkish authors offer something of their own culture to a larger aggregate civilization through the act of translation.

In the conclusion of his book, however, Ülken equates entering this universal civilization with what he views as the Ottoman goal of "garplılaşma" [347, westernization,]. As such, he idenifies the *Tanzimat* period as one of shifting orientation from East to West, which ultimately culminated in the Republican period with a *complete* (European) awakening. At this point Ülken's discussion of a universal civilization also shifts to a very specifically located form of western civilization—or rather a form of civilization inherent to the West. This argument gains particular importance in Ülken's assessment of translation movements in the *Tanzimat* and post-*Tanzimat* periods as "dağınık," "gelişigüzel" and "eksik" [348, scattered, haphazard, and deficient], in contrast to the success he identifies in systematic Republican translation activity. Within this context, Ülken stresses the need for and importance of a rigorous translation movement that would take account of a core canon of works understood to represent "western" values. The way in which Ülken expresses this idea is crucial to his larger argument: He states the need for a "Şuurlu, teşkilâtlı ve *tam* bir tercüme" [conscious, organized, and *complete* translation], which would encapsulate "bugünün büyük fikir ve san'at eserleri yanında *bütün* san'at ve felsefe klasikleri" [349, *all* classics of art and philosophy, together with the great contemporary works of art and thought, my emphases].

Such statements are directly in line with Ülken's categorical understanding of translation as a process of transferal: "tercüme, *bütün* bir medeniyeti nakletmektir" [348 to translate is to transfer an *entire* civilization, my emphasis]. The assertion here that an "entire" culture or civilization can be transferred at face value undermines Ülken's earlier depiction of civilization as an organically developing process; it denies the source culture the very sense of stratification and complexity which Ülken otherwise points to through the metaphor of intermingling bodies of water. Ülken's criticism of earlier translation movements as haphazard and incomplete furthermore posits that a "complete" translation of Western literature and/or western culture is indeed possible; this in turn puts forth an image of "the West" as a fixed, stable entity, which undoes any possibility of mutual influence through translational transactions.

İsmail Habib Sevük expresses similar views on translation in *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz: Garpten Tercümeler* [1940, *European Literature and Us: Translations from the West*], which offers a survey of translation history from antiquity (Greek and Latin) to the late Ottoman and early Republican eras. In order for Turks to arrive at a state of "tam Avrupa" [vii, complete Europe], Habib argues they must first engage in what he terms "tam tercüme" [vii, complete translation]. This idea is based on the belief that Turks cannot become fully European simply by learning foreign languages. Such a transformation can only occur once Turks have achieved the highest level of proficiency in their own language, at which point European values can be reflected (*aksettirmek*) in Turkish through translations.

---

[54] Consider, for example, the following quotation: "Medeniyet sürekli bir yürüyüştür. Max Scheler'in dediği gibi her ulus, büyük medeni akışla birleşen ve ona karışan yeni bir sudur. O kendinden bir şeyler getiriyor; fakat onu büyük akışa katmasını [da biliyor]" (Ülken 6).

Habib's preference for translation above language learning and first-hand contact with another culture is quite striking in that it demonstrates a desire to *textualize* Europe. On one hand, this exposes the concept of Europe to processes of textual analysis that have the potential to create stratified levels of meaning making**.** Indeed, the idea of *reading* in order to "arrive" at a fundamentally altered state requires an extremely *active* reading process on the part of both the reader and text. This process allows for a textual participation in European values that ultimately dislocates the conception of "Europe" from a specific geographic location: " 'Avrupalı millet' demek 'Avrupa coğrafyasında bulunan' demek değil. Avrupalı millet evvelâ bütün "Antiquité"yi, yâni Yunan ve Lâtin'in bütün bellibaşlı eserlerini, sonra diğer Avrupa milletlerinin de yine bellibaşlı kitaplarını kendi diline nakledendir" [v-vi, A European nation is not necessarily one that is found on European geography. A European nation is one that has transferred firstly the fundamental works of antiquity, namely Greek and Latin, and then also the fundamental books of other European nations into its own language]. At the same time, textual participation in European civilization is premised on the "entire" translation of Western antiquity; this suggestion that European civilization is complete in and of itself reflects once again Ülken's final depiction of civilization as specifically western, and the perceived singularity of European modernity.[55]

The rhetoric of completion and entirety utilized by these seminal theorists of translation is predicated upon the smooth translatability of western European values into the Republican context.[56] This premise also proves central to Hasan Ali-Yücel's conception of translation as a method of transferring humanist values to Turkey and underscoring a *communal* human spirit (*insan ruhu*) across East and West.[57] Shortly after assuming the position of Minister of Education in December of 1938, Hasan Ali Yücel took the first major step toward achieving this goal: the *Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi* [First Turkish Publishing Convention] in May of 1939 was convened in order to develop a detailed and systematic plan for the publishing industry in the years to come. Committees consisting of authors, intellectuals, journalists, publishers, and educators were established to assess and report on the state of the following seven categories: 1) printing, publishing, and sales 2) petitions 3) copyright for literary works 4) children's and youth literature 5) prizes and propaganda 6) publishing program, and 7) translation.

In his opening remarks, Yücel underscored the centrality of translation activity to all categories addressed by the convention:

> Garp kültür ve tefekkür camiasının seçkin bir uzvu olmak dileğinde ve azminde bulunan cumhuriyetçi Türkiye, medenî dünyanın eski ve yeni fikir mahsullerini kendi diline çevirmek ve bu âlemin duyuş ve düşünüşü ile benliğini kuvvetlendirmek mecburiyetindedir. Bu mecburiyet, bizi geniş bir tercüme seferberliğine davet ediyor. Bunu nasıl yapacağız? Neleri tercüme etmeliyiz ve hangi sıra ile nasıl bir yoldan bu işleri başarmalıyız? Bugün, bütün iyi

---

[55] It is notable that Habib himself expresses a problem with his conception of "tam:" "Zannediyorum ki topladığı tercümeler "tamama yakın" denecek bir mahiyet alabilmiştir. Tamama yakın diyorum, çünkü yapılan işin tam olmadığını ve olamıyacağını biliyorum" (vii). His immediate qualification of the translations missing from his book as hiding, "köşede bucakta" (vii) nevertheless suggests that they are not of great importance, and that their absence is not detrimental to the overall integrity of his analyses. Indeed, the conclusion to his introduction reads: "Fakat değilmi ki bir kere esas yapı kurulmuştur, bu gibi eserler meydana çıktıkça noksanlar telâfi olunur" (vii).

[56] For an insightful discussion of the concept of translatability as it relates to architectural projects in the early Republican period, see Esra Akcan, *Architecture in Translation*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012), 9-30.

[57] "Ben Doğu ve Batı diye bir ayrılık görmüyorum. İnsan eseri, insan ruhunun iştiyakları, kaygıları zamana ve zemine göre değişse de özünde bir ayrılık varsa o, tutulan yol ve usuldendir (qtd in Çıkar 62).

niyetlere rağmen, elde muayyen bir program bulunmayışı yüzünden bu yolda heba olan emeklere ve paralara acımıyor muyuz? (*Neşriyat Kongresi* 121)

[It is imperative that Republican Turkey, with its desire and determination to become a distinguished member of western society's culture and thought, strengthen its own personality by translating the products of the civilized world's old and new ideas—and thus also its worldly mentality and impressions—into its own language. This necessity invites us to a comprehensive translation campaign. How will we do this? What must we translate, and in which order and manner can we accomplish this? Today, despite good intentions, are we not suffering from lost efforts and money due to the absence of a concrete program of action?]

As is clear from this quote, Yücel envisioned a program of systematized translation through which a distinctly Turkish national identity could emerge that identified itself as European. Yücel's call for a comprehensive (*geniş*), and concrete (*muayyen*) program of translation over a period of multiple years that could serve as the basis for such learning was strongly supported by leading authors and intellectuals of the time; figures such as Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Yunus Kazım Köni, and Yaşar Nabi Nayır all emphasized the need for state intervention in order to make quality, and affordable literature in translation available to an under-educated public with little disposable income.[58]

Sabahattin Ali served as one of 27 members on the translation committee,[59] which took the first major step in realizing Yücel's vision by producing an initial list of 294 works to be translated into Turkish.[60] While this list formed the basis for the bureau's signature World Literature in Translation series, it consisted overwhelmingly of western European classics. The largest section contained more than 100 works of French literature, followed by English (42), Greek and Latin (38), German (34), Russian (30) and select titles from Italian, Spanish, northern European, and American literatures. In contrast, the complete list contained only seven works by "eastern" authors.[61] Accordingly, works of non-western literature comprised a mere 5% of total translations at the end of the bureau's 16 year period of production (Gürçağlar, "Revisited" 123). As such this list strongly reflects Yücel's vision of a translation program that would enable Turkey to participate in the history of *western*

---

[58] Ahmet Ağaoğlu was one critical voice who argued against a form of culture planning, which he believed would lead to a standardization of the diverse individual thoughts and feelings that make up an aggregate culture: "Ben doğrusu bu maddeden ürktüm. Burnuma, nasıl diyeyim, "devletleştirme," "planlama," vesaire gibi ta - sıkılıyorum söylemeğe – "standardize"ye kadar kokular geldi!" [*Neşriyat Konregsi* 187, To tell the truth, I was irked by these matters. All of this nationalization, planning and the likes smells a little to me, how should I put it - I am embarressed to even say it – like standardization!]

[59] In addition to chairman Etem Menemencioğlu and reporter Mustafa Nihat Özön, the translation committee consisted of the following members: Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, Ali Kâmi Akyüz, Bedrettin Tuncel, Burhan Belge, Cemil Bilsel, Fazıl Ahmet Aykaç, Fikret Adil, Galip Bahtiyar Göker, Halil Nihat Boztepe, Halit Fahri Ozansoy, İzzet Melih Devrim, Nasuhi Baydar, Nurettin Artam, Nurullah Ataç, Orhan Şaik Gökyay, Rıdvan Nafiz Ergüder, Sabahattin Rahmi Eyüboğlu, Sabahattin Ali, Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, Selami İzzet Sedes, Suut Kemal Yetkin, Şinasi Boran, Yusuf Şerif Kılıçer, Yaşar Nabi, and Zühtü Uray (*Neşriyat Kongresi* 35).

[60] The committee's final report furthermore called for the publication of a comprehensive dictionary of modern Turkish, the formation of a state-sponsored translation bureau (*tercüme bürosü*), and the establishment of a translation journal (*tercüme mecmuası*) that would publish diverse translations alongside original texts, together with critical articles on methods of translation and existing translations in Turkish (*Neşriyat Kongresi* 125-127).

[61] Texts by "eastern authors" (şark muharrirleri) included in the list are Mevlana's *Mesnevi*, Sadi's *Gülistan*, Ferdevsi's *Şehname*, Nizami's *Hamse*, selected texts by Hafiz and Hayyam, and selections from *One Thousand and One Nights*. For the full list of proposed works to be translated see "Türkçeye tercüme edilmesi Tercüme İşleri Komisyonunca teklif edilen eserler" (*Neşriyat Kongresi* 277-285).

thought, and thereby become an active, independent member of western society and civilization.

Following the successful establishment of a temporary translation committee (*Tercüme Heyeti*), a permanent bureau was established in 1940 under the direction of Nurullah Ataç. Sabahattin Ali served as one of seven permanent board members for this bureau, as well as editor and translator of German texts until 1944 when he was put under surveillance for suspect political activity.[62] In her assessment of the bureau's activities and reception during this time period, Gürçağlar views the establishment of this institution as central to other statist Republican reforms in the fields of economics and culture; within this political climate, she argues, authors tended to view state involvement in the publishing industry at large as both natural and necessary ("Revisited" 121). Melahat Togar describes Ali's enthusiasm in particular for the translation project:

> Tercüme Bürosu kadrosunda yer almıştı. Hasan Ali Yücel'in Milli Eğitim Bakanı olarak klasikler tercümesi işini bütün ciddiyeti ile ele aldığı o güzel dönemi yaşıyorduk. Yurdun güçlü kalemlerini, dil bilenleri, ozan ve fikir adamlarını çevresine toplamıştı. Kurul toplantılarına katılıyor, çeviri problemleri ile yakından ilgileniyor, kurul çalışmalarının başarılı sonuçlar almasını sağlamaya çaba harcıyordu. (70)

> [Sabahattin Ali] took a place in the staff of the translation bureau. We experienced that pleasant time period with all of the seriousness that [Ali] went about the project to translate the classics, undertaken by the minister of education, Hasan Ali Yücel. The nation's most powerful authors, language specialists, poets and intellectuals all gathered in his vicinity. He took part in council meetings, dealt with problems of translation first hand, and took pains to ensure that the council's efforts would have successful results...]

Togar's recollection attests to the level of excitement and dedication with which Ali approached his work for the translation bureau. Her depiction of his time in Ankara as a "güzel dönem" [pleasant or happy period] is a reminder that state intervention in the publishing industry initiated previously unthinkable opportunities in the realm of translation; it initiated not only the extensive World Literature in Translation series, but also a bureau in which authors came together to grapple with the question of how to translate the great works of world literature into a newly reformed modern Turkish language that was still struggling to establish its own vocabulary and modes of expression.

As I argue in this chapter, the existence of such debate suggests that supporting state intervention in the publishing industry did not necessarily preclude one's ability to critique the state and its modernizing institutions from within. As a committed socialist who was often imprisoned for his criticism of the state and the single party system, Sabahattin Ali is a case in point. At the same time that he rendered the classics of western European literature into Turkish, I argue that his production of fiction and translations worked together to complicate the paradigms of civilizational transfer and smooth translatability central to Republican translation rhetoric and the humanist reforms at large, thereby acting as a force of critical intervention from within.

My reading of Ali in this light is informed by the fact that he was put under surveillance in 1944 for suspect political activity, and shortly thereafter removed from his

---

[62] Additional board members included Bedrettin Tuncel, Enver Ziya Karal, Nusret Hızır, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Saffer Pala Ali (Çıkar 82).

positions at the translation bureau and state conservatory. In an extremely tempered letter to Hasan Ali Yücel dated 14 December 1945, Ali expresses both his grief and indignation at this decision. On the one hand, he states his enthusiasm for the humanist reforms at large. In particular, Ali describes the village institutes instated by Yücel, which strove to foster an intellectual elite outside of Turkey's major urban centers, as an inexhaustible treasure (*tükenmez bir hazine* 425) that brings him a great deal of hope. On the other hand, Ali suggests that his own position as a government employee at the translation bureau and his identity as a writer had become incommensurable (*bağdaşamaz* 424). In conclusion, Ali states the real and formidable fear of one day no longer being able to feed his family on the meager salary of an independent author. Yet only when he has lost all hope in the prospect of following his political convictions, he writes, "tekrar devlet kapısına dönmek isteyeceğim. O zamana kadar da kalemimle geçinmeye çalışacağım" [429, will I want to return to the state's door. Until then, I will try to make a living with my pen]. Implied here is, of course, a "living" that does not conform to state standards.

This inherent contradiction of interests Ali expresses between his identities as state-employee and author in 1945, lead me to reconsider the socially critical potential of his literary output during the years he was employed at the translation bureau. *Madonna*, as a tragic love-story, fell through the radar of state censorship and continues to be read in a largely apolitical light; in the following sections I show on the contrary, how this novel is actually closely tied to Ali's translation activity for the bureau. As such, I argue that Ali utilized his positions as both author and translator in this time period to subtly assert his own points of disagreement with the modernization project.

IDENTITIES IN CRISIS

Ali was also an active translator prior to his involvement with the translation bureau,[63] and by the time of the first publishing convention in 1939, he had clearly established himself as an expert on German literature and culture. While it is impossible to determine the exact role he played in selecting works for the World Literature in Translation series, it is only logical to assume his opinion had significant influence with regard to the German portion of this list. The initial selections from German literature included standard Enlightenment (Goethe, Lessing, Schiller), Romantic (Hoffmann, Chamisso, the Grimm brothers), and Realist (Keller) authors. The inclusion of several works by Heinrich von Kleist is not surprising, considering his canonical status at the time of the publishing convention. Yet the placement of his texts within a translation series meant to generate a comprehensive humanist reform movement in Turkey raises larger discursive questions that are also pertinent to Ali's involvement with the bureau.

In the introduction to all texts published within the World Literature in Translation series, Yücel describes literature as an embodiment of the humanist spirit; here—and in diverse other public statements and publications—he underscores the value of translation activity as a means of participating in humanist civilization, strengthening the Turkish educational system, and enriching Turkish readers' level of perception in the world:

---

[63] Among the authors Ali translated throughout the 1930s are: Max Kemmerich, Feodor Mihayloviç Dostoyevski, Heinrich Heine, Friedrich Stendhal, and Gotfried Keller.

Hümanizma ruhunun ilk anlayış ve duyuş merhalesi insan varlığının en müşahhas şekilde ifadesi olan sanat eserlerinin benimsenmesiyle başlar. Sanat şubeleri içinde edebiyat, bu ifadenin zihin unsurları en zengin olanıdır. Bunun içindir ki bir milletin, diğer milletler edebiyatını kendi dilinde, daha doğrusu kendi idrakinde tekrar etmesi; zeka ve anlama kudretini o eserler nispetinde artırması, canlandırması ve yeniden yaratmasıdır... Hangi milletin kütüpanesi bu yönden zenginse o millet, medeniyet aleminde daha yüksek bir idrak seviyesinde demektir. Bu itibarla tercüme hareketini sistemli ve dikkatli bir surette idare etmek, Türk irfanının en önemli bir cephesini kuvvetlendirmek, onun genişlemesine, ilerlemesine hizmet etmektir.[64]

[The first understanding and feeling of the spirit of humanism starts with the adoption of works of art which are the most concrete expression of human existence. Among art forms, literature is the richest in terms of the intellectual elements of this expression. Therefore when a nation repeats the literature of other nations in its own tongue, or rather in its own conception, it increases, reviews and re-creates its intellect and power of understanding... The richness of a nation's library in this respect indicates a higher level of comprehension in the world of civilization. Consequently to administer the activity of translation in a careful and systematic manner, is to strengthen the most important aspect of Turkish education, to serve its development and expansion.]

As is clear from this introduction, Yücel did not view humanism as an end in itself, but as a tool to both expand and strengthen a Turkish national literary consciousness. Within this endeavor, translation is posited as both a repetition of another nation's ideas and a unique form of recreation. As such, it constitutes one method of participating in what Yücel describes here as the "world" of civilization. This formulation is in line with Yücel's understanding of translation activity as a method of underscoring the commonalities, rather than points of division between East and West. In this sense, the idealism of Yücel's introduction succeeds in avoiding cultural essentializations. Diverse other statements— including Yücel's opening remarks at the publishing conference cited above—nevertheless locate the concept of civilization as intrinsic to the West. This view is furthermore in line with the bureau's actual program of translation, which heavily favored western European over eastern classics.

What would it mean to translate Kleist into both Yücel's idealistic vision and the actual program of translation he endorsed? While Ali describes Kleist as a Romantic in the introductory remarks to his translation, Kleist's literature does not easily fit into any specific literary movement. His work offers rather a provocative, and inconclusive exploration of topics central to the experience of modernity, such as the inauthenticity of the self, the psychology of national belonging, and anti-colonial struggle. Kleist's grueling everyday experiences in the Prussian military (1792-1799) exposed him to the contradictions of enlightened humanism at a young age. Two years following his decision to leave the service, his famous "Kant crisis" (1801) marked a crucial turning point in his career, in which he began to doubt his earlier investment in the Enlightenment ideals of autonomy, reason, and progress, and develop in its place a radically skeptical view of the world (Fischer 4). Further informed by his experience of the French Revolution, its violent disruption of established power relations, and the period of political instability that followed, Kleist's diverse textual production reveals the tensions and paradoxes of Enlightenment rationalism and 18th-century

---

[64] This introduction appeared as the preface to every book published for the World Literature in Translation Series. I have cited this preface from Sabahatin Ali's collection, *Üç Romantik Hikaye* (no page number).

humanist discourse.[65] Whether intentional or not—the inclusion of Kleist's short stories and dramas within the World Literature in Translation series thus contains the potential to subvert a Republican investment in the ideals of humanist discourse and their presumed value for Turkish society. Among Kleist's texts included in this series,[66] Ali's decision to translate *Verlobung* is further notable for several reasons—from the relevance of the turbulent political context and cross-cultural modes of belonging it evokes, to the subtle, but unmistakable Kleistian references within *Madonna*.

Through its focus on the continued practice of slavery in the French colony of Saint Dominque following the French Revolution, Kleist's novella exposes the contradictions of a race-based colonial order.[67] Set at the tail end of the first successful slave revolt in the western hemisphere (1791-1804),[68] it problematizes the categories of race, gender, and nationality within a complex matrix of colonial power relations. At the same time, it explores these issues from a German perspective prior to the establishment of a nation-state, following the occupation of German lands by France under Napoleon in 1806. Within this context, Todd Kontje reads *Verlobung* as the reflection of a crisis in German national identity at the time of its publication in 1811 ("Passing").

Rather than a patriotic expression of Germanness, *Verlobung* reveals a deep ambiguity regarding what it means to be German at the turn of the century. In his discussion of different forms of "passing"[69] that occur within the novella, Kontje emphasizes in particular Kleist's use of the Swiss protagonist, Gustav, who fights for the French army. As the citizen of a country that was also occupied by France, Gustav plays a double role: he is both a victim and a perpetrator of French imperialism, who passes for the enemy within the slave revolt.

Read in this vein, the introduction of *Verlobung* into the Turkish literary canon in the 1940s has subversive implications regarding the historically important role Germany played for key Turkish reformers of the early twentieth century. 19th-century German humanism and philology, for example, provided an important model for the *Darülfünun*, to the extent that faculty worried it was becoming too German. Professor of pedagogy, İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, who later became president of the university, feared a form of foreign infiltration: he warned against the dangers of remaining German (*Alman kalmak*), appearing German (*Alman görünmek*), and working in German (*Almanca çalışmak*) (Konuk 59).

In contrast, the leading architect of Turkish nationalism, Ziya Gökalp, understood the German model as crucial for both a successful restructuring of the university, and the

---

[65] Helmut Schneider goes so far as to read Kleist's entire textual production as an ongoing challenge to the project of Enlightenment Humanism ("Kleist's Challenge to Enlightenment Humanism").

[66] Texts by Kleist included the original translation list were: the complete short stories, Der Zerbrochene Krug, Hermanns Schlacht (sic), and Prinz von Homborg (Neşriyat Kongresi 278). Texts actually translated include: *Die Familie Schroffenstein* and *Der Prinz von Homburg* (trans. Burhanettin Batıman), *Michael Kohlhaas* (trans. Necip Üçok), selected short stories (trans. Melahat Togar), *Die Verlobung in St. Domingo* (trans. Sabahattin Ali), *Der zerbrochene Krug* (trans. Hayrullah Örs), *Penthesilea*, *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn*, and *Die Hermannsschlacht* (trans. unknown) (Tercüme Listesi 73).

[67] The story is set in 1803, following General Jean-Jacques Dessalines' decisive defeat of French forces in the battle of Battle of Vertières; under orders of Napoleon the French army sought to reintroduce slavery in Santo Domingo, even though the French National Convention had promised the abolition of slavery in 1794.

[68] The revolt succeeded in eliminating slavery and led to establishment of the Republic of Haiti.

[69] Kontje describes "passing" as an act that "complicates identity politics by highlighting the tension between cultural constructs and biological essence, between convention and nature. The figure who crosses borders between fixed sexual, racial or national identities provkes what Marjorie Garber has termed a "category crisis" (16-17)" (68-69).

establishment of a Turkish national consciousness. In the 1916 article "Maarif Meselesi" [The Question of Education], for example, he argues that a German national conscience (*milli vicdan*) came into being via the rejection of French cultural dominance. Just as Germans could not discover their essential character while striving to imitate the French, he argues, neither can a Turkish national literature come into being without excising a lingering Persian and more recent French influence. While Gökalp strictly warns against all forms of cultural imitation, he suggests that Turkish literature should follow (*takip etmek*) the German example, in establishing its own national preferences and tastes (*milli zevk*) (111-12).

A story such as *Verlobung* thoroughly complicates the idea of what it means to follow a "German" model. While it can be read in response to the French occupation of Germany, it in no way posits an authentic German, national character. On the contrary, its tragic interracial love story—populated by characters who cannot be clearly defined along racial or national lines—engages in processes of cultural translation that undermine its potential to represent a unified understanding of Germanness.

Following the defeat of French forces in Saint Dominique by General Dessalines in 1803, a Swiss family attempts to make their way across the island to escape from the city's port. After hiding his extended family in the wilderness, the character of Gustav seeks provisions and shelter from the plantation of Congo Hoango—a leader of the slave revolt who has killed his former master and occupied his house. Here Gustav encounters the mulatto Babekan, and her daughter Toni. While Kleist refers to Toni as a *mestiza*—or a mixture of European and native American descent—she is actually part French and part African. This use of the term *mestiza* nevertheless emphasizes a key difference between Congo and Toni: unlike Congo, who was taken from his home on the African Gold Coast and sold into slavery, Toni was born on the island of Haiti. Under the rule of Congo, she is nevertheless subject to a different form of oppression; Congo forces her to lure in white travelers—who are comforted by the relative whiteness of her skin—in order to then trap and murder them.

As hybrid constructions that defy black and white definitions of race, nationality or ethnicity, all the major characters in *Verlobung* enact processes of cultural translation, understood as "an anti-essentialist and anti-holistic metaphor that aims to uncover... heterogeneous discursive spaces within a society" (Bachmann-Medick 37). They point to a dynamic concept of culture as a practice of negotiating cultural differences; at the same time—as I show in the following section—they expose the at times deadly power dynamics at work within the colonial system.

The question of what it means to translate such racial and cultural hybridities into the heightened nationalism of 1940s Turkey takes on new meanings within translation rhetoric of this time period. Anxieties and concerns regarding the problem of imitation were also prominent in early Republican translation theory. Such anxieties were expressed through the wide-spread criticism of late Ottoman translation movements as inadequate, haphazard and incomplete. In accusing late Ottoman translators of merely copying the West, Republican critics participated in the larger nation-building project by asserting a break with the Ottoman Empire, and upholding the idea that a "complete" translation of western literature and/or western culture could be realized in the Republican era. Within this cultural climate, İsmail Habib developed a concept of *tam Avrupa* [Europe in its completeness], which designated a canon of timeless, world literary texts. Hilmi Ziya Ülken proposed in turn the concept of *tam tercüme* [complete translation], which perpetuated an image of the West as a fixed, monolithic entity that could be "translated" at face value. Even while attempting to establish

an original Turkish identity, such discursive terminology inevitably led to an understanding of the "West" as originary, in relation to which Turkish translations could only be understood as both derivative and belated.

In this respect, *Verlobung* offers a fascinating case study, as 1) a text that posits a certain hybrid or non-essential aspect of culture, and that 2) consciously reflects on the potential inadequacy of its western sources. While there is no evidence that Kleist explicitly condemned the practice of slavery in the French colonies, *Verlobung* does offer a critical portrayal of the slave revolt through tensions between the mode and content of its narration. Ali hints at this aspect of the text in his introduction to the translation. Here he argues that *Verlobung* seems to conform to the popular European portrayals of the Haitian Revolution Kleist consulted while writing the novella; these sources all viewed the slave revolt as an act of brutality against the white population. At the same time, he argues, Kleist does not refrain from exposing the tyranny endemic to white colonials' brutal treatment of the African slave population through the action of his text (5). Within this context, Ali's translation of *Verlobung* also suggests the need to consciously reflect on the category of the "West" within the large-scale translation movement of the 1940s and the humanist reforms they were so central to. I develop this argument in the following section through a close reading of Ali's translation together with the Kleistian references in *Madonna*.

"Engaging" in World Literature:
San Domingo'da bir Nişanlama and Raif's "German" Novel

It is within the complex matrix of colonial power relations and racial tensions Kleist lays out in *Verlobung* that the fatal attraction between Gustav and Toni develops. Ordered by her mother to lull this fugitive into a false sense of security, Toni nevertheless sympathizes with and is drawn to Gustav; in an initial attempt to test her loyalty, Gustav also finds himself enamored by Toni's youthful countenance and likens her to his deceased beloved. What follows is a crucial, unnarrated moment, in which an implied sexual encounter marks a turning point for the story. Toni and Gustav's physical union is marked by a textual absence that simultaneously points to an *unspoken* speech act of engagement from which the story takes its title:

> ...Sie folgte ihm mit einer plötzlichen Bewegung, fiel ihm um den Hals, und mischte ihre Thränen mit den seinigen.
> Was weiter erfolgte, brauchen wir nicht zu melden, weil es jeder, der an diese Stelle kommt, von selbst lies't. (43)

> [She went over to him with a sudden burst, and, threw her arms around his neck, and let his tears merge with her own.
> There is no need to describe what then happened, as everyone who has come to this point can read it for himself.]

This moment of non-narration leads to a series of crucial misreadings that ultimately incite Gustav to accuse Toni of prostitution and betrayal; in a moment of confusion he shoots her in the chest just below the cross pendant he had offered to her as a sign of their engagement. Upon realizing his mistake, Gustav shortly thereafter commits suicide by shooting himself in the head.

In asking what it means to translate a moment of non-narration, I turn to Ali's rendition of this passage into Turkish:

> Bundan sonra ne olduğunu söylemeye lüzum yok çünkü buraya kadar gelen herkes alt tarafını kendiliğinden okur. (31)

> [There is no need to say what happened next, because after all, everyone who has come this far can read it for himself.]

Ali's use of the idiomatic phrase *alt tarafı*—meaning after all—also has critical spatial implications. By calling attention to both a literal and a literary *underside,* it points to the existence of textual layerings that work both with and against one another. As such, Ali's translation also offers a commentary on what it means to *read* the ambiguous and contradictory nature of Kleist's text as a whole. *Verlobung* is marked by myriad textual inconsistencies; these range from semantic issues (such as missing, misplaced or open-ended quotation marks), to orthographic differences in character names (Gustav is alternately referred to as August), and contradictory narrative information. Congo Hoango, for example,

is said to raze his master's plantation to the ground in the initial slave revolt, only to then inhabit this house several pages later. Much more than potential mistakes or flaws—such inconsistencies point to a heightened level of semantic ambiguity; they set up situations in which the narrative drives characters' actions on the surface, even while such actions undermine the very meaning of the language in which they are expressed.

The non-narrated sexual union between Gustav and Toni is one critical instance in which the language of *Verlobung* contradicts itself, in that it asks us to *read* a moment of non-narration. Andreas Gailus analyses this aspect of the text as an "unmooring" of language, or a paradoxical situation in which we are actually asked "to *stop* reading the text...[and] the semantic and typographical signs of absence and discontinuity the text puts before us" (my emphasis 34). In support of this argument, Gailus argues that we cannot overlook Kleist's use of outmoded typography: the verb "lies't" (in place of *lieset*, to read) contains a contractual elision that marks the very gap the passage asks us to ignore, and thus runs counter to the sentence in which it is embedded.

Wolfgang Iser more explicitly addresses the role played by the reader in such moments through his concept of the *Leerstelle*, or narrative gap. Within his theory of reception aesthetics, Iser examines the changing relationship between reader and text as ever-increasing levels of indeterminacy have become a central feature of literature from the 18th century to the present. The more texts foreground their own incompleteness—by pointing to events outside the frame of narration, or by highlighting moments of contradiction and ambiguity—the more readers are called upon to actively engage in an interpretive process of reading as meaning making ("Appellstruktur" 29-31).[70] While Iser's concept of the *Leerstelle* can apply to all levels of a text, *Madonna* could be said to *explicity* call attention to the central *Leerstelle* of *Verlobung* through its own use of narrative elision: a line break in the text marking an implied sexual encounter between the main character Raif and his beloved Maria (116).

Following a frenzied New Year's Eve celebration, and Maria's sudden declaration of her love for Raif, a moment of textual silence marks both the apex, and temporary breaking point of their relationship. It leads to a second "sessizlik" [118, silence] between the lovers, in which they find themselves at a loss for words in one another's presence. These double silences in the text address a problem of referentiality. Feeling suddenly estranged from Raif, Maria repeatedly attempts, but finds herself unable to explicitly refer to their moment of sexual union: "Bu sabah uykudan, başka bir dünyaya doğar gibi uyanacağımı sanmıştım" [119, I had hoped to awaken this morning to a completely different world]; "Artık eskisi gibi apaçık konuşamayız ... Bunları ne diye, neyin uğrunda feda ettik?" (120) ["We can't talk openly as we used to... For what did we sacrifice all this?" 144].

In considering the relationship of these sexual encounters to one another, it is notable that *Verlobung* and *Madonna* employ markedly different methods of narration. In his introduction to the translation, Ali accurately describes *Verlobung* as a text that hinges on the

---

[70] Narrative ambiguity and epistemological uncertainty is a central aspect of Kleist's poetics. The concept of the *Leerstelle* in particular has been utilized to describe the famous dash in Kleist's *Die Marquise von O* [1808, *The Marquise of O*], which stands in place of the marquise's rape by Graf F (Reif 87). David Roberts has also used this concept in his discussion of *Das Erdbeben in Chili* [1807, *The Earthquake in Chile*] to describe the earthquake as an event that shakes the very basis of society in St. Jago; Roberts builds here on Werner Hamacher's discussion of the novella as "eine Erschütterung... die auch die Logik der Repräsentation ergreift und daher den Begriff der Darstellung als solchen in Frage stellt" [qtd in Roberts 45, a shock that seizes the very logic of representation, thereby calling the concept itself into question].

power of the event (*vaka*); it is in the carrying out of key events that the complex and contradictory nature of Kleist's characters comes to the fore.[71] *Madonna* is, on the contrary, a text driven by descriptive detail, long conversational passages, and the psychological development of its main characters. Considering the otherwise divergent nature of these texts, what does it mean for *Verlobung* and *Madonna* to converge precisely on a *Leerstelle*, or a moment of non-narration?

In answering this question I argue that *Madonna* also contains an inverted counterpart to the textual elision of Raif and Maria's sexual encounter: the text of Raif's notebook—in which is recorded the story of his youth in Weimar, Berlin, and which we receive word for word as the internal narrative of *Madonna*. At the close of the external narrative that opens the novel—in which the narrator and Raif slowly become friends through their positions at a local bank—Raif becomes deathly ill. After asking the narrator to retrieve this small black notebook from his work desk, Raif then pleads with him to throw it into the fire of his stove. Raif's desire to have this notebook destroyed—an act that would silence his own transcultural life story—points us back to the moment of textual silence that marks his relationship with Maria; and yet Raif's fervent desire to have his notebook burned ironically leads the narrator to both keep, and *read* Raif's life story for himself. This act both opens Raif's text to all external readers of the novel, and raises the question of how to *read* Raif's notebook through the silences that mark his character.

Following Iser, I argue that *Madonna* presents this act of reading as an expression of the text's very openness to interpretation ("Appelstruktur" 249). If the *Leerstelle* constitutes a fundamental *Ansatzpunkt* from which the reader can explore a text's potential meanings ("Appelstruktur" 235), then the text of Raif's notebook—as a counterpoint to the *Leerstelle* of Raif and Maria's sexual encounter—furthermore figures the act of reading as a crosscultural encounter: the question of what it means to read Raif's notebook is complicated by his own offhand depiction of it as a German novel (*Almanca bir roman*). While this lie is meant to detract a colleague's attention as Raif hides the notebook deep in a drawer, I argue that *Madonna* asks us to take this claim seriously. To read Raif's life story as a *German* novel is to fundamentally question what it means to be German. It requires an investigation of the intersubjective and intercultural framework of the novel via a mode of reading that engages both its surfaces and subtextual layers.

Ali's translation of another key scene in *Verlobung* is central to my argument here. Following their implied sexual encounter, Gustav gives Toni a necklace with a cross pendant as a "Brautgeschenk" [engagement gift]; Ali's translation of this term—which attests to an otherwise unspoken engagement—as a "*nişan* hediyesi" [31, engagement gift], conveniently plays on the double meanings of *nişan* as both "engagement" and "target." Indeed, the place where the cross lies on Toni's chest marks the spot where Gustav shoots her later in the story, after misreading her actions as a sign of betrayal.

In my own play on words, I argue that for Ali translation constitutes one method of *engaging* with, rather than simply transferring the classics of world literature to Turkey. I

---

[71] This does not imply that Kleist's characters lack complexity or serve merely symbolic functions. According to Ray Fleming, "Kleist allows action rather than psychological analysis to present us with the key to understanding the complexity of his black characters and their world. One might object that this is but another example in Western canonical literature of the marginalization of the Other as represented by Congo Hoango, Babekan and Toni, but if this were so the black characters would, typically, only have a symbolic role in the literary work… rather than a structurally and thematically essential role" (309).

develop this argument through recourse to Ali's own reflections in an article written for the journal *Tercüme* in March 1941:

> Sanat eserinin dili, diğer yazılı eserlerden farklı olarak, canlı bir mevcudiyettir... Tercüme esnasında, mütercim kelimelerin manalarını nakil ile kanaat ettiği müddetçe, bu hayat yok olur, ortada sadece birtakım ölü kelimeler silsilesi kalır. Asıl mütercim, bu cansız malzemeye, naklettiği dilde yeni bir hayat vermesini bilen kimsedir... (104)

> Mütercimin hem eserini tercüme ettiği muharrire, hem de bu eseri arz ettiği insan kütlesine karşı büyük bir vicdan borcu olduğunu ve ağır bir mesuliyet altına girdiğini asla unutmaması lazımdır. (111)

> [The language of a work of art, as opposed to that of other written works, is a living being. In the course of translation and the transfer of its words' meanings, this life perishes, leaving only a chain of dead words behind. The real translator can give this lifeless matter a new life in the language it has been transferred to...

> The translator must not forget that he has undertaken a debt of consciousness and a serious responsibility toward the author of the work in question, and the public mass he wants to present the work to.]

Here Ali figures the initial act of linguistic transfer (*nakil etmek/ nakletmek*) as one that literally takes the life of a living work of art. Real translation, he argues, cannot remain at the level of transfer, but must then enliven the dead words of the literary text; this is the ethical responsibility of the translator toward both the author and the public.

In Ali's own terms, then, to engage with *Verlobung* in translation, is to bring this text to life in Turkish; Ali arguably does this by exploring new semantic ambiguities—like those of *alt tarafı* and *nişan*—that highlight the textual surfaces and substructures of Kleist's novella.[72] Just as *Verlobung* asks us to *read* a moment of non-narration, I argue that the kind of translation Ali endorses is closely tied to the ability to read through the double meanings and potentially contradictory layers within a given text. As such, Ali's translation practice enacts the kind of double dislocation Theo Hermans describes in his concept of "thick translation," whereby concepts in both the source and target languages are unhinged from their apparent meanings. Hermans builds here on Clifford Geertz' notion of "thick description," which resists universalizing tendencies by actively reflecting on the interpretive and constructivist nature of the ethnographer's observations. In recognizing that acts of translation, interpretation, and description play out in the same discursive space, Hermans' concept of "thick translation" resists the imposition of categorical definitions. In working from the bottom up—rather than from the top down—"thick translation contains within it both the acknowledgement of the impossibility of total translation and an unwillingness to appropriate the other through translation even as translation is taking place" (386-387).

In the following section, I argue that Ali foregrounds and invites a similar process of reading as crosscultural interpretation through intertextual references within *Madonna* that are tied to his translation of Kleist. By linking the acts of translation, interpretation, and *reading,* I show how Ali works against a top-down instatement of modernizing reforms in the early Turkish Republican era, for which translation activity played a central role. Through his exploration of the surface structures of modernity in *Madonna*, I show how Ali links the acts

---

[72] I borrow the term "textual substructure" from Roswitha Burwick, who argues that the substructures of *Verlobung* "mirror the unsolved social, political and racial problems" (321) it addresses.

of reading and translation in order to complicate the Republican premise of smooth translatability and the problem-free transferability of western values into the Turkish context it is predicated upon.

BEHIND THE FAÇADE OF CIVILIZATION

The main character of *Madonna* could be described as a failed product of the Turkish modernization project: Raif is sent to Berlin in his youth to learn the soap trade, with the goal of returning to modernize his father's soap factory in Havran. Rather than pursuing an apprenticeship in Berlin, however, Raif devotes his time to learning German, wandering the streets of Berlin, visiting museums and art galleries, and developing his budding relationship to the German-Jewish artist and cabaret singer, Maria Puder. Set some 20 years later, the external narrative of *Madonna* figures Raif as both sickly and outdated: tied to the idea of his ill-fated love affair with Maria, he is a character who seems in many ways to have given up on life; referred to at work with Ottoman title *Efendi*, Raif seems to be a relic of the past befitting of the novel's original title—*Lüzümsüz Adam* [The Unnecessary Man].

At the same time, Raif engages in a crucial act that ties him to the modernization process. He does in effect what Ali was sent to Germany to do: he not only learns, but internalizes the language, in part by devouring works of literature. Earlier in this chapter, I described Raif's initial surprise upon arriving in Berlin. Contrary to his expectations of "Europe"—gathered from the literary texts he had read in translation—Raif finds himself disappointed by the city's mundane, everyday character. Implicit to Raif's disappointment here is a localization of Europe at large in Weimar Berlin. Rather than a disjuncture between the realms of imagination and reality, I read this scene as a critique of the Turkish Republican attempt to textualize Europe, in order to translate it in its entirety.

The text of Raif's life story stands in contrast to this rhetoric, by posing the more difficult question of what it means to be "German." By asking its readers to approach its internal narrative as a "German novel," I argue that *Madonna* provides an alternative way for Ali to take part in the world literature series he translated for. Rather than simply transferring a series of canonical German texts into Turkish, Ali produces a Turkish literary critique of German modernity that asks to be considered as German. That the complexity of Ali's intercultural narrative only comes to the fore through the narrator's *reading* of Raif's life story suggests a conception of world literature not only as a process of crosscultural exchange, but also as a method of reading that demands intense self-examination.

As the internal narrative of *Madonna* progresses, Raif's experiences in Berlin become localized to an extreme, and the German-Jewish character Maria with whom he falls in love becomes the sole lens through which he sees the city. Maria's historically significant position as a young, female artist, together with her independent, headstrong character and self-declared feminism, lends her the defining features of the *Neue Frau* of the time. As is well known, in addition to low-level white-collar professions, the *Neue Frau* of the 1920s also began entering the fields of journalism and the visual arts. This created new opportunities for Weimar women to contribute to their own self-representation in a public realm from which they had historically been largely excluded. The problematics of such self-representation are clearly addressed through Raif's first and only encounter with Maria's artwork when he views her self-portrait, "Die Madonna im Pelzmantel" [The Madonna in the Fur Coat], at an exhibition of modern paintings. What is significant in this encounter is that Raif is so

transfixed by Maria's framed image, that he fails to recognize her in person. For Raif, Maria is her portrait—and it is first and foremost the portrait that Raif falls in love with.

In an exhibition of paintings clearly coded as Verist—or the Left Wing of the *Neue Sachlichkeit* [The New Objectivity] which was coined by Gustav Hartlaub in 1923—the strict realism of Maria's portrait stands out. Amidst unproportional paintings with glaring colors, Maria's work contains absolutely no traces of beautification (*güzelleştirme 57*) or intentional disfigurement (*inadına çirkinleştirme* 57). It thus seems closely in line with the right wing of The New Objectivity, which Hartlaub viewed as having idyllic, neoclassicist traits and identified with the post-WWI return to order (Guenther 33). Indeed, Maria's painting is modeled after the 1517 painting *Madonna delle Arpie* [Madonna of the Harpies, see Figure 2 below] by the Florentine artist Andrea del Sartos.

Figure 2: Madonna of the Harpies

(JSS Virtual Gallery)

In stark contrast to Expressionism, The New Objectivity strove for an objective portrayal of reality, and a clarity of representation marked by acute attention to detail. Read within the larger context of the novel, this desire for transparency reveals key tensions in Maria's character. As an image of herself, Maria's painting seems to embody the central goal of *Neue Sachlichkeit* through its unity of form and content. What it puts into question, however, is how her characteristic embodiment of the *Neue Frau*, lives up to her self-depiction as a motherly, religious icon. This question is historically important, as increased employment opportunities for women also gave rise to a female consumer culture that was largely fueled by a desire for new self images. The fashion industry was one important way in which such desires were met—loose, practical clothing downplayed traditional physical characteristics of femininity.

Yet Maria's fur coat and low-cut white evening gown stand in contrast to the functionality of daytime fashions. Symbolic of her side job as a cabaret singer, they reflect night fashions of the time, revealing a societal anxiety about the androgyny of the *Neue Frau*.

Raif's utter disappointment with this image of Maria is telling. Observing the way in which she interacts with male customers, Raif first notices her forced smile and obvious aversion to her situation. That Maria's face disguises her true emotions supports Sabine Hake's argument that night styles dramatized "older assumptions about female beauty and eroticism through its use of the mask" (189).

These multiple competing images that make up Maria's character are significant in that the stylization of the New Woman was integral to Weimar modernization in general, as the bringing together of beauty and industry represented a match of form and function crucial to the new objectivity of the time period (Ward 83). Ali's portrayal of Maria thus points to a profound tension in the surface value of Weimar Modernity.

Ali brings his focus on Weimar surfaces to bear on the Republican Turkish experience of modernity through the use of a frame narrative that takes place in Ankara. As the new capital of modern Turkey, Ankara became an important Republican icon. Publications in the early era of the Republic represented Ankara metaphorically as both the heart and the mother of the nation, due to its geographic centrality and its symbolic status as a city that was built and modeled with the founding of the Republic. The newness and cleanliness of Ankara was contrasted with portrayals of Istanbul as old-fashioned and unclean; the order of Ankara's streets was pitted against the chaos of the historic capital city of the Ottoman Empire; and the idealism of the new republic was held up against an older tradition of dynasty and decadence (Bozdoğan 67).

Such sentiments were particularly strong in the heightened nationalism of the 1940s during which Ali wrote *Madonna*, making his depictions of Ankara all the more noteworthy. Raif moves to Ankara only as a last resort, and Ankara holds anything but a promising future for him. He is disregarded by his colleagues and largely used by his family for monetary support. His residence on the outskirts of the city further attests to his low economic status and offers an image of the capital city that stands in stark contrast to official representations:

> Ankaranın asfalt döşeli yollarına hiç benzemiyen bozuk kaldırımlı dar mahalleleri geçtim. Birbiri arkasına yokuşlar ve inişler vardı. Uzun bir yolun sonunda, adeta şehrin bittiği yerlerde, sola saptım ve köşedeki kahveye girerek evi öğrendim: taş ve kum yığılı arsaların arasında tek başına duran iki katlı, sarı boyalı bir bina. (24)

> [I passed through narrow neighborhoods with damaged sidewalks, very unlike Ankara's asphalted boulevards. Ascents and descents followed upon one and another. At the end of a very long road, almost at the edge of the city, I took a left and got directions to the house from the customers of a coffeehouse: A yellow, two-story building, standing alone among the sand and rocks.] (19)

Raif later apologizes for the derelict character of his neighborhood and explains to the narrator that the housing crisis in Ankara has forced him to live outside the city center. Ali thus portrays the ideal of Ankara as unattainable for the Turkish population at Raif's income level. As such, Ankara could be read as one "facade" of the modern nation, behind which a different image of life in the republic exists. This depiction of Ankara is replicated in microcosm through Raif's household. His inner parlor stands in stark contrast to the neighborhood, and the narrator is quite surprised by the carefully placed expensive articles: a carpet from Sivas, a red velvet divan, and a walnut coffee table lend the room a bourgeois character that does not match Raif's salary at the bank. Predictably, the ostentation of this guest room quickly gives way to the disorder of a dingy bedroom, which Raif shares with his

wife and children. Clothing, dirty dishes, and empty medicine bottles fill every corner, leaving no space for the narrator to even find a seat. In comparison, the guest room replicates an ideal living standard that the family strives for but cannot afford.

These depictions of life in Ankara are central to my larger interest in translatability. In her analyzes of early Republican architectural projects that took British and German housing developments as a model, for example, Esra Akcan emphasizes the important role experts from German speaking countries played in redesigning Turkey's major cities. While Turkish houses were never exact copies of British or German models, the adaptation of certain architectural features—such as flat roofs, stucco facades, transparent surfaces, and winter gardens—were indicative of a belief in the smooth translatability of modernism and its centrality to the westernizing project (1-6). Such architectural projects were central to the goal of "becoming" European. Whereas leading reformers of the early Republic warned against the dangers of mimicking, or superficially imitating western Europe, architectural innovation was one arena that sought to identify itself as European, as opposed to a mere "copy" of western models.

If Ankara—as the symbolic face of the modern Republic—was central to the conviction in smooth translatability, how does Maria's contradictory desire for transparency in *Madonna* translate to the modernizing project of the new Republic? Whereas architectural reform and actual translation rhetoric of the early Republican period suggested that a complete translation of western European values was both possible and desirable, Ali's exploration of the tensions and surfaces of Weimar modernity pose the more difficult question of what such values were themselves based upon. The distinction between fully adopting modern European ideals as opposed to simply copying European models is thoroughly complicated when those ideals are themselves revealed to be largely perpetuated through surface images.

I return in the following section to Ali's translation of Kleist's *Verlobung* and its problematic portrayal of the underlying values of western civilization. In conclusion, I examine two final instances where I believe Ali brings his interest in Kleist and this novella in particular to bear on the text of *Madonna*.

CIVILIZED ENCOUNTERS, IMPURE MIXTURES

Following the implied sexual encounter in *Madonna*, and Maria's expression of her inability to love another human being, Raif wanders blindly through the streets of Berlin until he reaches the southernmost limits of the city. In a key turning point for the novel, he finally takes notice of his surroundings: on the shore of Berlin's Wannsee, he recognizes the spot where Kleist and his lover, Henriette Vogel, had committed suicide in 1811 (123), a date that incidentally also marks the publication of *Verlobung*.

This famous suicide pact—in which Kleist first shot his lover then himself—does not serve as a clear point of reference for Raif and Maria's relationship, but rather as a bitter point of inversion. In contrast to Maria's assertion that two people can never really become one,[73] Raif imagines the lovers Heinrich and Henrietta, with a bullet through the temples and

---

[73] Maria expresses this idea in the following quote: "Demek ki insanlar birbirine ancak muayyen bir hadde kadar yaklaşabiliyorlar ve ondan sonra daha fazla sokulmak için atılan her adım daha çok uzaklaştırıyor. Seninle aramızdaki yakınlaşmanın bir hududu, bir sonu olmamasını ne kadar isterdim. Beni asıl, bu ümidin boşa çıkması üzüyor..." (120). ["So, people can get close to a certain extent, and then, every step taken to become closer

chest, respectively, their blood streaming into a single pool at his feet: "Mukadderatları gibi kanları da birbirine karışmıştı" [123, Like their destinies, their blood had also mixed with one another]. In a self-deprecating fantasy, he imagines first calling Maria, then shooting himself in the head, so that he might listen to her saying his name as he lies, dying, in a pool of his own blood. Only in this way, "ömrünün sonuna kadar beni unutamacağını, kendimi kanla hatırasına bağladığımı anlayacaktı" (125) ["she would understand that she would never forget me until the end of her life, and that I had bound myself to her memory with my blood" 151].

The manner in which Kleist committed suicide is also eerily reminiscent of the suicide in *Verlobung*, in which Gustav first murders Toni by shooting her in the chest, and then kills himself out of remorse with a bullet through the head. Indeed, Raif's bitter fantasy also recalls the image of Toni writing in her own pool of blood at the close of Kleist's novella. This intertextual reference, together with Ali's multiple, visual references to blood lead me to question the stakes of Raif and Maria's intercultural relationship in *Madonna*. While this novel is consistently read as a tragic love story, no scholarship has questioned the significance of Raif and Maria's specific backgrounds for the development of the narrative. Yet in one of their first excursions together, Maria brings Raif to the Botanical Gardens in Berlin, where she compares the strange (*garip*) and uprooted (*sökülmek*) plants it houses to her Jewish ancestors (*ecdat*) (91-92). Through this conversation, we learn that Maria's father was a Jew born in Prague, who converted to Christianity before she was born. It seems no coincidence that Maria shortly thereafter describes her mother as "*halis* Alman kanında bir Protestan" (110) [a Protestant of *pure* German blood," my emphasis, 131]. How is this depiction of Maria as the child of an interracial couple—replete with its reference to "pure" German blood—potentially related to the *mixing* of blood in the crucial scene where Raif envisions Kleist's suicide? In other words, how is Raif's fantasy of his own union with Maria—in which she becomes bound to him in memory by blood—also the projection of an impure mixture, and a commentary on the kinds of hybridities and interracial couplings Kleist employs in *Verlobung*?

Ali's recourse to the rhetoric of purity offers a clear reference to the racial politics of National Socialism at the time of *Madonna*'s publication in the early 1940s. Raif's notebook is furthermore composed in the summer of 1933, a year that marked the official end of the Weimar Republic and Hitler's systematic consolidation of power. With regard to these historical implications, I return again to the question of what it means for Ali to translate the key moment of non-narration in *Verlobung*, which marks the implied sexual union between Toni and Gustav. In addition to the text of Raif's black notebook, I suggest that this moment of non-narration finds a second inverted counterpart at the close of *Madonna*'s internal narrative through the event that finally leads Raif to document his life in Berlin. A chance encounter with Frau von Tiedemann, owner of the boardinghouse where Raif lived in Berlin, leads him to discover the existence of his ten-year-old daughter. Described as "zayıf" [thin], "soluk benizli" [152, of pale complexion], "huylu ve sessizdir" [156, well behaved and silent], this girl serves as a ghostly physical testament to Raif's relationship with Maria, who he now learns passed away shortly after giving birth.

The *Leerstelle* that marks both Gustav and Toni's, as well as Raif and Maria's sexual encounters, is translated into the silence of this small child. Whereas the love story in *Verlobung* reveals a crisis in German identity prior to the establishment of the German

---

makes them more distant. I wish very much that our convergence had not had such a boundary, an end. What really makes me sad is my disappointment…" 144].

nation-state in the face of French imperialism, Ali gestures through this child to the colonial power structures within which Raif's relationship to Maria is embedded in the 20th century. Frau von Tiedemann—who is incidentally Maria's cousin—reveals that she is traveling through Ankara en route to Berlin along the Bagdad Railway. Her Prussian husband, whom she describes as a colonial merchant (*müstemleke tüccarı* 152), is now involved in the date trade in Iraq. Recalling her husband, Herr Döppke's, previous experience with the date trade in the German colony of Cameroon, Raif notes perplexedly that Bagdad is not a German colony. To this Frau von Tiedemann replies: "kocamın sıcak memleket mahsulleri üzerinde ihtisası var" [152, my husband is an expert in the products of hot countries].

In conclusion, I argue that it is precisely this kind of categorical cultural essentialization that Kleist works against through the hybrid identities and semantic ambiguities in *Verlobung*. Ali's translation of *Verlobung* then works together with the intertextual references in *Madonna* to underscore the deep irony of a project meant to transfer European humanist values to Turkey at a time that these very values were being destroyed by fascist governments in Europe, or put into question via the European colonial imposition of slavery following the French Revolution, respectively. While Ali did enthusiastically support both the translation project, and other humanist reforms instated by Hasan Ali-Yücel throughout the 1940s—I argue that both his translation practice and his fiction suggest that translating the "West" involves a careful consideration of the contradictions and potentially negative aspects of western civilization.

As such, these texts also challenge depictions of civilization within translation rhetoric of the early Republican period: Hilmi Ziya Ülken proposes the concept of a universal civilization that is nevertheless situated in the West; Turkey's entrance into it is thus aligned with what he views as the Ottoman goal of westernization (*garplılaşma*), which he states can only be fully realized with the systematic program of translation in the Republican era. İsmail Habib Sevük argues along similar lines that textual participation in European civilization is premised on the "entire" translation of Western antiquity, suggesting a positive ideal of European civilization that is complete in and of itself. Both of these authors uphold a desire to, and a belief in the possibility of transferring the otherwise vaguely defined values of western civilization to Turkey.

By pointing to the contradictory nature of its literary underside, I argue that Ali's translation of *Verlobung* works together with his final novel, *Madonna,* to complicate the Republican Turkish premise of smooth translatability—and thus also the stable category of the "West" it presumes—upheld by scholars such as Ülken and Habib. Whereas translation activity was one crucial arena through which Turkey sought to emerge as an independent political entity that identified itself as European, Ali poses the more difficult question of what "western" values themselves might be: the question of what it means to adopt, import or transfer European humanist ideals to Turkey is thoroughly complicated when those ideals are revealed to be largely perpetuated through surface images.

Zafer Şenocak's "Turkish Turn"

From the Jewish Enlightenment to the present, minority authors have utilized the German language to place an understanding of Germanness into question.[74] To name only a few key examples: it has attested to one's assimilation into the German cultural realm (Moses Mendelssohn); it has been a method of potential disruption or deterritorialization of the dominant language from within (Franz Kafka); it has formed the basis for a means of reflecting on and salvaging a language contaminated by National Socialism (Paul Celan); and it has been subject to oppositional reterritorialization through multilingualy inflected youth slang (Feridun Zaimoğlu). Against this history, Emine Sevgi Özdamar's winning of the prestigious Ingeborg Bachmann Prize in 1991 marked a watershed moment that forced postwar authors and scholars alike to seriously question the extent to which literature written in German by a non-native speaker can and should be considered "German."

Persistent categorical labels in secondary scholarship such as "guest worker-" "migrant-" and "intercultural-" literature nevertheless continue to assert the existence of a minority literary sphere separate from a distinctly German canon. Similarly, awards such as the Chamisso Prize—which until 2012 was awarded to authors writing in German who did not speak German as a mother tongue—often lead to an author's increased visibility, while nevertheless reinforcing his or her status outside of a properly German realm.[75]

In Şenocak's acceptance speech for this very prize in 1988, he describes German and Turkish as indispensable aspects of his inner and outer identity. Within a larger assertion of his own cosmopolitan homelessness (*Heimatlosigkeit*), Şenocak describes the linguistic makeup of his poetry in clearly utopian terms: "Meine Gedichte entstehen in erster Linie in deutscher Sprache, in einer Sprache, die ich noch als Kind, als Zweitsprache, erlernt habe, die zu meiner Lebenssprache geworden ist, zu der Sprache, in der ich lebe; die Sprache, die in mir lebt, ist dagegen noch Türkisch" (*Atlas* 98) [My poems develop primarily in German, in a language that I learned as a child, as a second language, that has become my life-language, a language in which I live; the language that lives within me is nevertheless still Turkish]. Only three years later, in the highly critical essay "Wann ist der Fremde zu Hause?" [1991, When is the Foreign at Home], Şenocak nevertheless expresses his frustration with a renewed questioning of his decision to write in German following increased acts of xenophobia following unification. The logic behind such probing—which asserts that an author can simply reach back to a language of the past—implies that one writes between a mother

---

[74] An important study in this regard is Yasemin Yıldız' *Beyond the Mother Tongue* (2010), which investigates diverse multilingual authors' decisions to write in German, "Instead of viewing German either as a dominant, oppressive language that is the property of socially sanctioned, ethnically German subjects, or, inversely, as a minor language threatened by global English," Yıldız "makes visible contradictory, changing, and surprising meanings that can accrue to the miltilingualized language, especially when delinked from ethnicity (17).

[75] The prize criteria have since been changed to target "authors writing in the German language whose literature is affected by cultural changes." For the detailed prize description, see: http://www.bosch-stiftung.de/content/language2/html/14169.asp

tongue and a foreign language, denying the possibility that a minority author may also view German as a mother tongue. The strong rhetorical differences in these pre- and post-unification essays reveal the crucial role language played in collective identity formation as a newly charged force of exclusion in unified Germany.

Within this context, what is the significance of contemporary Turkish German author Zafer Şenocak's decision to begin writing his fictional work in Turkish in the 21st century? After a more than 20-year career as German-language poet, journalist, essayist, novelist, and public intellectual, I read Şenocak's "Turkish Turn" as a refutation of constant attempts to fixate him as an ethnically Turkish author in the German public sphere. Whereas Şenocak's early essays lament the continued tendency to identify second generation German-Turks with a distant "home" culture, his recent fiction more specifically puts the status of Turkey as an easily defined national referent into question. It marks a move on his part to more intensely engage—beyond the history of Turkish migration to Germany—with the contradictions of Turkish modernity and their relevance to an evolving conception of Germanness. As such, Şenocak's Turkish language novels go beyond the "Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature" described by Leslie Adelson in her 2005 monograph of the same name. In outlining a "new critical grammar of migration," Adelson offers a rigorous narratological study that demands the full inclusion of Turkish German literature in the *German* national archive. While Adelson's study represented a watershed moment for the field of Turkish German studies, her emphasis on a "Turkish Turn" within *German language* literature does not address the potential role Ottoman or Turkish language texts might play within this field as well.

In order to address the complexity of Şenocak's "Turkish Turn," I read his 2008, Turkish-language novel *Köşk* [*The Residence*] together with his oft-referenced 1998, German language novel *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* [*Perilous Kinship,* 2009]; these novels bring the 1960 Turkish military coup and the Armenian Genocide into contact with the Holocaust, respectively. In reading *Köşk* against *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft*, I argue that the Turkish experience of modernity was already a central aspect of Şenocak's writing even before he began publishing explicitly in Turkish. The medium of the Turkish language nevertheless brings to the fore not only the question of what it means to remember across different histories of trauma, but also across different *languages*.

In both *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* and *Köşk* acts of cross-linguistic remembrance are tied to the problem of translation. Together, these novels posit a multidirectional movement of translation between Ottoman, German, and modern Turkish that offers a pointed reflection on contemporary language politics in the Federal Republic. In contrast to the oft-asserted view of integration as a one-way process, the success of which is deemed to be largely dependent on immigrants' relative German capabilities— Şenocak's novels envision diverse forms of linguistic contact and modes of translational remembering across languages and time periods. Amidst debates regarding (post)migrants' relative ability to remember a specifically German past, and to participate in a German present that continues to be largely defined through Holocaust remembrance, moments of translation in *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* and *Köşk* challenge the concept of memory ownership, and disrupt monolingual and monocultural paradigms of Germanness based on an understanding of ethnic collectivity.

~
Translational Kinships, Multilingual Memory

Şenocak's 1998 novel *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* [translated into English by Tom Cheesman as *Perilous Kinship* in 2009] is both his best known, and most contested work of fiction. Set in the early years of the Berlin Republic, it brings together the legacies of the Armenian Genocide and the Holocaust through the character of Sascha Muhteschem. Part German-Jewish and part Turkish, Sascha returns to a unified Berlin in 1992 after spending three years as the writer in residence at a United States university. Having missed the fall of the Berlin Wall, Sascha is confronted with a new focus on identity politics in unified Germany that leads him to reconsider his own multicultural heritage.

Gefährliche Verwandtschaft has received widespread acclaim in the United States and Germany for its critique of official national discourses (Eigler 2002), its critical engagement with the project of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* through a reconfiguration of the generational relationships predominant in the *Väterliteratur* of the 1970s and 80s (Gerstenberger 2002), its debunking of cultural stereotypes through a non-representational style (Hall 2003), and its contribution to German memory debates (Adelson 2005).

At the same time, it has been criticized for its allusive treatment of the Armenian Genocide (Littler 2005), and its use of a conclusion that borders on narrative fetishism (Eigler 2002). Margaret Littler in particular asks "what can be responsibly narrated about limit experiences like the Holocaust" (369), arguing that Sascha's depiction of memory as humanity's "open wound" does not allow for a proper working through of trauma or mourning for its victims. At the same time, she finds that the novel's tangential treatment of the Armenian Genocide places too high of an expectation upon its readers to fill in the gaps and complexities it elides, thereby obscuring and mystifying the topic for a western readership unfamiliar with the historical circumstances (366, 369).

In response to arguments such as Littler's, I explore the purpose such gaps serve within *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft.* By bringing together the Holocaust and the Armenian Genocide, I argue that the novel does not attempt to directly compare or work through experiences of trauma; it offers rather a theoretical reflection on the concept of absence within both a larger critique of the German Turkish geopolitical relationship, and within contemporary debates regarding language and memory in the Federal Republic of Germany.

To date, the potential of Şenocak's novel to transform postwar German memory-scapes has been attributed in particular to Sascha's role as main character. Blond haired, blue eyed, and barely conversant in Turkish, Sascha considers himself German; with German-Jewish family who took refuge in Turkey during the Holocaust, and an Ottoman grandfather who is implicated in the Armenian Genocide, Sascha's genealogy nevertheless poses a challenge to ethnicized understandings of Germanness. Confronted with a new focus on identity politics in unified Germany, Sascha's exploration of his multifaceted family history exposes a paradox of German memory culture: the perceived need to maintain an ethnically homogeneous notion of German identity in order to ensure Germans' responsibility for the crimes of National Socialism, even though this notion of ethnicity was itself one source of the Nazi crimes (Yıldız and Rothberg 35).

In a crucial formulation, Sascha likens his personal heritage to the reality of contemporary Germany, in which Germans and Jews no longer stand in direct opposition to

one another: "In Deutschland entsteht jetzt ein Trialog zwischen Deutschen, Juden und Türken, zwischen Christen, Juden und Muslimen. Die Auflösung der deutsch-jüdischen Dichotomie könnte beide Parteien, Deutsche und Juden, von ihren traumatischen Erfahrungen erlösen" (89) [In Germany now, a trialogue is emerging between Germans, Jews, and Turks, between Christians, Jews, and Muslims. The dissolution of the German-Jewish dichotomy could release both parties, Germans and Jews, from their traumatic experiences" 69]. Yet as noted by Leslie Adelson in her depiction of "Touching Tales" between Germans, Jews, and Turks, Sascha is quick to disregard these remarks as mere fantasy, a suspicion she believes readers should share ("Touching Tales" 123-135).

Indeed, the figure of Sascha does not simply dismantle the paradox of German memory discourse. While his family history ties him to victims *and* perpetrators, he remains ethnically linked to both German and Turkish historical legacies of trauma by virtue of his genealogy. In her reading of this novel, Adelson thus situates Sascha within and against the narratives of referentiality and cultural alterity Turks have been made to bear in contemporary German society ("Touching Tales," *Turkish Turn*). In this chapter I argue further for a shift in focus from the character of Sascha to the set of personal notebooks he inherits from his Ottoman grandfather upon the sudden death of his parents. Written in the Ottoman and Cyrillic scripts, these notebooks are central to the plot of *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft*: Sascha imagines them to contain dark secrets regarding his grandfather's culpability in the Armenian Genocide, and contemplates at length whether or not to have them translated.

Scholars have generally regarded these texts—which remain unrepresented within the frame of the novel—as inconsequential, noting Sascha's decision to *invent*, rather than reconstruct, the life story of his grandfather. Sascha does, however, make a conscious decision to both keep them and have them translated; he finally secures a translator knowledgeable of both Ottoman and Russian at the close of the novel, who agrees to a contractual period of approximately one year. As such, the novel sets into motion a process of translation that exceeds its own narrative framework via a set of texts that constitute a problematic narrative absence. It is precisely here, I argue, that the potential for going beyond genealogical frames of reference is addressed within the novel.

Sascha briefly considers destroying the notebooks in order to clear his conscience of the guilt associated with his grandfather's crimes. While he thus remains fixated on the notebooks' potential content, I argue that the *problem* of translation posed within the novel is tied rather to issues of form: In Sascha's initial search for a translator knowledgable of Slavic, he learns for example that the notebooks include citations from modern Russian literature, and lengthy passages of Ottoman written in the Cyrillic script. The question of what it means to "translate" the notebooks' diverse associations—and to thus bring these associations into contact with Sascha's reality as the grandchild of Holocaust survivors in post-wall Berlin—is figured more as an issue of language, than an issue of content. What might it mean to translate these multi-vocal, referential and transliterative Ottoman-Russian texts from the first half of the twentieth century into German — in both 1992, when the novel is set, and in 1998, when the novel is published?

In answering this question I argue that the ambiguities, and contententious modes of cultural orientation embraced by the *form* of the grandfather's notebooks work against paradigms of phonocentrism and linguistic purity in the modern Turkish Republic that were tied to the purification of the body politic and the establishment of a national, ethnocultural Turkish identity. If the translation of these texts is figured at times within the novel as a

linguistic impossibility—this only attests to the need for an open-ended translation process that reflects on, and intervenes in an implicitly ethnicized idiom of the German language that emerges following the unification of East and West Germany, and in response to significant reforms in German citizenship policy on the eve of the 21st century century.

DECENTERED NARRATION

In her multifaceted reading of *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft*, Leslie Adelson acknowledges that the novel does not meet basic Armenian demands for representation. In contrast to the Holocaust, the Armenian Genocide has historically remained largely underrepresented in international archives, scholarship, literature, and film.[76] In this regard, the anti-representational style of Şenocak's novel does not speak to an Armenian need for international visibility: no historical metanarrative of genocide is provided, and no Armenian experiences are depicted in detail. At the same time, Adelson argues convincingly that "the linkage between twentieth-century histories of genocide and migration in the character of Sascha is not cast as a political analogy between Turks and Germans but as a language problem in Germany" (*Turkish Turn* 119). Here she draws a link between Şenocak's depiction of *Betroffenheit* [affectedness] as a ritualized, emotionless act of mourning for the victims of WWII, in which the cause of grief remains hidden or obscured from the mourner, to the genre of *Betroffenheitsliteratur* [the literature of affectedness]. This term emerged in the 1970s to describe testimonial narratives of minority figures such as women, Jews, homosexuals, and left-wing activists who had generally experienced some form of discriminization or victimization (Warner 27). Fanco Biondi and Rafik Schami picked up on this term in their discussion of the so-called "guest-worker literature" of the 1970s and 80s, in which biographical, first person narratives were largely conceived of and received as representative of a larger minority experience (133-34).

Notably, Sascha's own novelistic work is received within this vein, despite the fact that he barely speaks Turkish and does not identify as a foreigner. As a token representative

---

[76] The Armenian genocide has received significant international attention since the initial publication of *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* in 1998 and Adelson's analysis of it in 2005: Authors such as Orhan Pamuk and Elif Şafak have called attention to the Turkish denial of genocide in interviews and within their literature. A number of European states have also officially recognized the genocide and the issue of recognition has been deemed essential to Turkey's potential EU accession. In 2012, France passed a bill that made denying the Armenian genocide a criminal offense; this bill was nevertheless overturned by the French Constitutional Council later this same year. In 2014, the United States Senate passed Resolution 410, which called upon Turkey to "acknowledge that the massacres of Armenians in 1915 constituted 'genocide.' " The resolution was, however, not placed on the agenda of the full senate and thus never came to fruition. For a detailed discussion of these issues, see: Emil Souleimanov and Maya Ehrmann, "The Issue of the Recognition of the Armenian Genocide as a Political Phenomenon," *Gloria Center, Global Research in International Affairs*, http://www. gloria-center.org/2014/04/the-issue-of-the-recognition-of-the-armenian-genocide-as-a-political-phenomenon/, (2014). Despite increased international pressure on Turkey to recognize the Armenian genocide as such, I believe that Adelson's argument is still valid. In comparison to the dizzying amount of scholarship available on the Holocaust, secondary scholarship on the Armenian genocide remains limited. That said, two critical publications on the subject that have come out in recent years include: Taner Akçam's *The Young Turks' Crime against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire* (2012), and Fatma Müge Göçek's *Denial of Violence: Ottoman Past, Turkish Present, and Collective Violence against the Armenians, 1789-2009* (2014).

of *Ausländerliteratur* [foreigner's literature] Sascha gives readings frequented by Germans who want to "see" the foreigners (130), and describes remembering one's heritage (129) as a recipe for success. Sascha's candid remarks reveal how the content and narrative structure of *Betroffenheitsliteratur* are largely determined and legitimated by the dominant society's expectations of it: while the very emergence of this genre entailed a German recognition of societal groups that were previously ignored or silenced, such recognition was driven more by a sense of moral obligation than a genuine interest in the literature of these minority communities.[77]

The problem of *Betroffenheit* is tied to a larger problem of translation that is both grounded in, and exceeds the German national framework within the novel. Through Sascha's position as journalist, Şenocak connects the cultural expectations for *Betroffenheits-literatur* to a metaphorical demand on journalists to "translate" Turkish youth for the general German public:

> In der Welt, die ich zu beschreiben habe, ist man auf Instinkte angewiesen. Es ist die Welt der Migranten, der Randgänger. Abseits des Zentrums herrscht eine andere Logik. Meine Aufgabe besteht darin, diese Logik zu übersetzen. Deswegen nennt man mich auch den "Übersetzer". Der Übersetzer kennt keine Wahrheit oder Lüge. Er ist der Lügner der anderen. Wenn er eine Wahrheit erkennt, die nicht der Wahrheit der anderen entspricht, muss er sie für sich behalten. Gäbe er diese Wahrheit preis, würden sich die anderen nur über den schlechten Übersetzer ärgern. Ohne den Übersetzer würde die Welt an vielen Stellen auseinander fallen. Durch ihn werden viele Nähte unsichtbar. Nur die, die zu nahe an den Nähten sind, spüren den Schmerz, das Jucken und Brennen an der Naht. (95)

> [In the world I have to describe, instincts are everything. It is the world of the migrants, the marginals. Beyond the centre a different logic rules. My task is to translate this logic. For this reason they even call me "the Translator". Translators know neither truth nor lies. A translator is the others' liar. If he sees a truth that does not match the others' truth he has to keep it to himself. Were he to reveal this truth, the others would just complain about the bad translator. Without translators the world would fall apart in many places. They make many seams invisible. Only those who are too close to the seams feel the pain, the itching and burning where the stitching runs.] (73)

The idea that young Turkish migrants are in need of "translating" suggests both that they cannot adequately represent themselves, and that they are somehow incomprehensible to the general public. At the newspaper, Sascha is viewed as the ideal "translator" of this minority group, because of his own ethnic Turkish heritage on his father's side. Within this logic of cultural authenticity translation is not understood as a process of interpretation, but as a clear-cut method of representation in which the journalist/translator uncovers a peripheral "logic" that persists outside of the societal center. Sascha's main task as journalist—which is described here as the negotiation of different "truths"—is nevertheless revealed as a kind of hoax translation, or one that may uphold lies in order to maintain an accepted social order in which the migrant functions as social Other.

The notebooks that Sascha inherits from his Ottoman grandfather refigure and disrupt the center-periphery logic of this translation metaphor. Dated from 1916 to 1936 the

---

[77] For a detailed discussion of this problematic see Immacolata Ammodeo, *Die Heimat heißt Babylon: Zur Literatur ausländischer Autoren in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag Opladen, 1996), 9-32.

notebooks span defining moments of 20th-century violence, from the Armenian Genocide to the supernational politics that were symbolically staged at the Berlin Olympics. The year 1936 also points to Erich Auerbach's arrival in Turkey to chair the Department of Western Languages and Literatures at Istanbul University.[78] One of many German-Jewish exiles hired to reform the university system, Auerbach's case reveals the deep ironies in Turkey's adaptation of a western European humanist model of education, at the same time that the basic tenants of humanism were being undermined by National Socialism. Şenocak briefly references this history in *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* with a typically dry humor: "Man konnte kaum verstehen, wie Hitler die fähigsten Wissenschaftler aus seinem Land jagen konnte" (55). ["It was almost incomprehensible that Hitler could drive the most capable scientists out of his country" 44]. While Şenocak highlights here the overwhelmingly positive reception of the German-Jewish exile community in Turkey, the novel also points to the irony in Turkey's decision to take in select members of a persecuted minority community at the same time that it exercised repressive measures against its own minority citizens.

The question of what it means to read these Ottoman notebooks—and their diverse associations—in present-day Berlin becomes an issue of translation within the novel that is complicated by their multilingual quality. Written in the Cyrillic and Ottoman scripts, Katharina Gerstenberger describes these texts as "doubly encoded documents…at the margins of the translatable" (239). Noting Sascha's several attempts to find a suitable translator, she argues that his quest for translation is rendered "insignificant" (241), as Sascha ultimately decides not to reconstruct, but to invent the life story of his grandfather.

On the contrary, I read Sascha's *quest* for translation as indispensable to his own, and the novel's, narrative ambitions. Whereas Marie criticizes Sascha for narrating without a center (23), the notebooks enact a critical process of *de*centering in the novel that refuses narrative closure. After Sascha briefly considers destroying the notebooks, he makes a conscious decision to both keep them and have them translated. His initial search for a translator knowledgeable of Slavic nevertheless reveals this to be no easy task; these "personal" texts contain quotations from Russian literature and passages in Ottoman written in the Cyrillic script. In contrast to the largely prescribed content of *Betroffenheitsliteratur*, these notebooks could be said to defy all expectations. Rather than rendering the notebooks more readable, translation reveals the elusive and labyrinthine character of their content.

In this context, it is certainly tempting to characterize the notebooks as untranslatable: when Sascha attempts to interpret them without knowledge of the Perso-Arabic or Cyrillic scripts, he is overcome by a lethargy (38) that underscores their inaccessible nature. And other than one brief quote from the multi-volume collection, the notebooks remain untranslated and unrepresented within the narrative frame of the novel. As such they forge an absence at the core of the novel through their resistance to symbolization. Sascha nevertheless persists with his search and does secure a suitable translator at the close of the

---

[78] Approximately 1,000 German-Jewish academic scholars, artists and politicians took refuge in Turkey between the years 1933-1945, several notable figures being: Alexander Rüstow, Ernst Reuter, Georg Rhode, Fritz Neumark, and Leo Spitzer (Seyhan, "Translation as Bildung" 277). The travelling exhibition "HAYMATLOZ – Exile in Turkey 1933 – 1945" (2000-) documents this episode of Turkish-German history. ("Haymatloz"—a Turkish adaptation of the German word "Heimatlos" [homeless], was stamped into displaced persons' passports upon arrival in Turkey.) The exhibition materials were created by the Aktives Museum in Berlin and are available for rental on a weekly basis. For more details, see: http://www.aktives-museum.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Extern/Dokumente/Flyer_Haymatloz.pdf. Fritz Neumark's personal memoirs *Zuflucht am Bosphorous* (1980) also offer a rich portrayal of this time period.

novel. With a contractual period of approximately one year, Sascha anticipates an "endgültige Entschlüsselung" (117) ["final deciphering," 87] of these documents that will shed light on (aufklären) the dark sides of his heritage. While Şenocak's use of the verb *aufklären* hints here at an Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*) desire to eliminate ambiguity, Sascha's translator emphasizes his own subjective position as translator. By describing his own work as one potential version of many (117), he emphasizes the multiplicity of meanings at work within the grandfather's notebooks and the impossibility of definitive translation. As such, the notebooks initiate a *process* of translation that begins with, but ultimately exceeds the space of the novel itself.

This *process*—which remains open to the future—is paradoxically sustained through the notebooks' seemingly "untranslatable" qualities: unrepresented within the frame of the novel, the notebooks forge a symbolic, narrative absence that is echoed through myriad other actual absences in the text. Transported to the translator's office in shoeboxes, the silver chest that once housed them remains empty in Sascha's home as an ever-present reminder of their current absence from his daily life (115). The translator's office is in turn so sparsely furnished that Sascha describes it as almost empty (117).

The question of what it might mean to translate narrative absence is nevertheless complicated by Sascha's sudden depiction of the notebooks (*Notizbücher*) as diaries (*Tagebücher*),[79] which attributes them with an intimacy and immediacy of presence. Unlike other books, he describes a dairy as an "Organ seines Verfassers" (41) ["organ of its author" 34]; they reveal (*offenlegen*) what a fictional author would otherwise conceal (*verheimlichen*). As such, these texts actually form the kind of presence-in-absence Jacques Derrida describes through the term "trace," or the idea that signs also contain traces of what they do not mean. By gesturing toward their potential *non*-meanings, such traces mark the absence of presences in a chain of signification in which meaning is generated through differences.

Derrida develops this term within a critique of western metaphysics, and the strict binary between speech and writing it upholds. Throughout *Of Grammatology* (1976), Derrida interrogates the logocentric privileging of speech as a medium of presence (12) that can only be interrupted or mediated through the act of writing. Derrida's grammatology—or science of writing—aims to uncover on the contrary a natural relationship between speech and writing, in which writing does not corrupt or supplement spoken language, but is rather inherent to speech itself (37). In arguing that language is firstly writing, Derrida interrogates the ontology of presence upheld through an assumed proximity of voice and being in western metaphysics. In place of a full and natural self-presence, he develops an understanding of self-consciousness that is constituted through its relation to an outside or Other.

While the notebooks or diaries in *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* are a form of writing attributed with immediacy, they do not simply mediate the grandfather's spoken words or authorial presence. On the contrary, they undermine a desire to view the grandfather as an authentic source of information. That the grandfather's intimate diaries include citations from famous Russian authors suggests that both the grandfather's life and words are in someway not his "own." The multi-vocal, referential, and uncategorizable quality of the notebooks enact rather a form of authorial de-centering that suggests the absence of an original logos or realm of truth exterior to these texts.

---

[79] This shift in terminology first occurs on page 38.

Notably, Şenocak argues that a similar process of decentering is initiated by the translator of literary texts in his essay "Literarische Übersetzung: Brücke oder Schwert?" [Literary Translation: Bridge or Sword?]. Here he develops a concept of "literary translation," in which:

> …die *Position* des Übersetzers *gegenüber* dem Text nicht ausschließlich in vorgefassten, unumstößlichen *Standpunkten* und Irrationalismen aufgehen darf. Der Übersetzer muss viel mehr *in der Lage sein*, das Verbindende in den Unterschieden zu suchen und das Trennende im Gemeinsamen zu sehen, *wechselnde Standpunkte* einzunehmen, Gegensätze zu differenzieren und zu relativieren, anstatt sie hierarchisch aufzulösen…. Anders ausgedrückt: [Übersetzung verlangt] den Abschied von einer logozentristischen Dialektik, die das Fremde immer nur vom Eigenen her definiert. Das bedeutet: den blinden Fleck im eigenen Auge wahrnehmen, um eine verändernde Wirkung des Fremden im Eigenen zu spüren und zu ertragen. (my emphases, 53-54)

> [The *position* of the translator *in relation to* his text must not proceed from exclusively preconceived, incontrovertible *points of view*. The translator must rather *be able to* see connections in differences, and disjunctions in commonalities, to engage with *alternating viewpoints*, to differentiate and relativize opposites, rather than solve them hierarchically... In other words: [translation requires] a departure from a logocentric dialectic, that defines the foreign only in relation to the self. This means: to perceive the blind spot in one's own eye, in order to feel and endure the changing effect of the foreign in the self.]

Şenocak utilizes a variety of German words with strong spatial connotations in this passage: the translator situates himself *across from* or *opposite to* (*gegenüber*) a source text; the word "Standpunkt" literalizes how one's point of view may be determined, opened or obstructed by one's relative location; and the phrase "in der Lage sein" suggests that one's ability to negotiate differences and similarities is closely tied to one's own physical position. Within these spatial dimensions of translation, the translator's ability to *change* positions vis-à-vis source and target texts enacts a departure from the strict binaries of Self and Other. In contrast to a logocentric metaphysics of presence, in which the subject is complete in and of itself, Şenocak describes here a form of self-consciousness constituted *through* its relation to the Other in a larger network of shifting signification.

Within Şenocak's essay, this destabilization of the self via translation is linked to a discussion of 19th-century German *Orientalistik,* which viewed Ottoman literature within the Persian and Arabic literary traditions. As a result, Ottoman literature was judged according to prescribed "oriental" attributes—such as the use of highly abstract language and extended metaphor—rather than originality. That the sparse and concrete folk poetry of authors such as Yunus Emre were not translated during this time period, reflects the fact that they did not conform to such literary patterns.

Şenocak describes his own experiences translating the poetry of this Anatolian mystic as both a linguistic challenge and a lesson on the permeability of borders across time periods, religions, spaces, and cultures. The work of Emre, he argues, embodies a form of cosmopolitanism that is not clouded by personal rhetoric, but that offers "ein befremdeter Blick auf das Eigene" ("Zwischen" 30) ["an alienated view of one's own person," "Between" 237]. By translating selectively, Orientalists upheld an undifferentiated image of the Ottoman Empire and ignored productive cultural tensions such as that between Ottoman court poetry and Anatolian mysticism. At the same time, existing translations of Ottoman Divan poets

often reflected Eurocentric values; these both consolidated cultural prejudices and maintained a geographic classification of the Ottoman Empire as part of the Middle East, despite the fact that its territories overlapped with Europe in the Balkans.

The kind of critical self-positioning Şenocak demands of the translator works precisely against the orientalist desire to categorize by undoing the assumed binaries of self/Other, Orient/Occident and Ottoman/European, which inevitably lead to hierarchal relationships. And in contrast to models of translation that envision contact with the foreign as a method of achieving a higher level of self-understanding,[80] Şenocak's model interrogates the very possibility of pure self-presence.

INTERVENING IN A HISTORY OF PHONOCENTRISM

Şenocak's understanding of "literary translation" as a departure from a logocentric dialectic resonates strongly with Derrida's interrogation of the ethnocentric character of logocentrism in *Of Grammatology.* In his analysis of structural anthropology on the example of Levi-Strauss, Derrida shows how it was ironically through the very privileging of speech that western discourse was able to exert a colonizing power over oral cultures deemed as yet "uncorrupted" by writing.[81] In relation to this idea, Robert Young argues that Derrida's interrogation of logocentrism and the metaphysics of presence necessarily entails a "deconstruction of…the concept, the authority, and assumed primacy of, the category of the 'West' " (51) upon which it depends.

Within *Of Grammatology,* this larger emphasis on ethnocentrism is tied to a critical analysis of phonocentrism. In the structural linguistics of Ferdinand de Saussure, it is by positing a natural unity of sound and sense within the unit of the phoneme that an immediacy and fullness is attributed to speech acts (29); as an external representation of speech, writing may only imitate this unity through the use of a phonetic alphabet. Building off the work of Derrida, Changfu Chang argues that western metaphysics is dependent on a hierarchy of language systems that privileges western phonetic alphabets over eastern ideographic systems of writing. Chang traces the development of this system to G.W.F. Hegel's *Philosophy of History*, which posits a dichotomy between an alphabetic West and a non-alphabetic East, and views western writing systems as superior for the representation of abstract concepts.

---

[80] Antoine Berman describes the centrality of translation to a German concept of *Bildung* as a process of self-formation in the late 18th century. Understood as a process in which the self passes through the foreign, translation engenders a process of alienation that ultimately leads to a higher level of self-understanding. For a detailed discussion of the relationship between *Bildung* and translation see Antoine Berman, "Bildung and the Demand of Translation," in *Translation and the Experience of the Foreign*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992), 43-52.

[81] In "The Violence of the Letter," Derrida discusses Levi Strauss' "A Writing Lesson" at length. In this text, which takes the form of a travel journal, Strauss describes his experiences with a group of Nambikwara—an indigenous people of Brazil with a strictly oral culture—in the late 1930s. He recounts the story of a chief who pretends to write in front of his tribe and then to read from the document he has produced. In Strauss' depiction of this event, the chief feigns writing in order to consolidate his authority and prestige; in this context, writing is not tied to pursuit, or preservation of knowledge, but becomes a source of exploitation and corruption within a tribe Strauss otherwise describes as innocent, primitive and natural. Derrida reveals the ethnocentric measures of standardization involved in this analysis: "The traditional and fundamental ethnocentrism which, inspired, by the model of phonetic writing, separates writing from speech with an ax, is thus handled and thought of as an anti-ethnocentrism. It supports an ethico-political accusation: man's exploitation by man is the fact of writing cultures of the Western type" (121).

This argument is based on the assumption that phonetic letters directly register sounds, whereas ideograms represent ideas through images that are deemed to have no direct relationship to the spoken word (Chang 123).

This history of phonocentrism and its Eurocentric basis bear on my reading of *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* through the grandfather's use of transliteration in his notebooks. Notably, he not only writes in Ottoman and Russian, he also transliterates Ottoman passages into the Cyrillic script. While the translator describes this as an act of charlatanry, such acts of transliteration actually offer a subtle commentary on the history of phonocentrism in modern Turkey. While the Perso-Arabic script of Ottoman is phonetic in nature, the perceived insufficiency of this script to represent the sounds of Ottoman Turkish was at the forefront of late Ottoman debates on script reform.[82] Diverse proposals for orthographic reform[83] emphasized a gap between Ottoman spelling and pronunciation, and identified the ambiguity and hybridity of the Arabic script as an obstacle to literacy. Debates regarding the need to simplify or vernacularize the language asserted on one hand the cultural autonomy of Ottoman from the Persian and Arabic traditions; at the same time they revealed a tendency to control and contain the language. An emerging phonocentric discourse focused on the need for a one to one correspondence between signified and signifier, phoneme and individual letter (Ertürk, *Grammatology* 43).

Through its contemporaneity with the world historical communications revolution, the desire for phonocentrism thus placed new limits on a written Ottoman language "freed" from the recitative power of authorial presence through its mass distribution in new print media. Within this context, Nergis Ertürk argues that the process of vernacularization was not simply:

> …the discovery of an unquestioned nativity, but rather …an encounter with a seductive and terrifying *Unheimlichkeit*. With the intensified use of language as a communicative and translative medium, the nativizing impulse of phonocentrist vernacularization paradoxically (re)exposed speakers and writers to a foreignness inherent in the "native" language itself. (*Grammatology* 43)

With respect to this history, the epistemic extremity of the Republican search for a pure Turkish vernacular cannot simply be explained as an act of Occidentalist mimicry. It reveals even more an inherent fear of the difference of language itself. The 1928 language reform introduced a new phonetic script utilizing Latin letters and diacritical markings from German, Romanian, French, and Hungarian. Despite its clearly foreign origins, it was treated as a "native" element of national Turkish culture, while the old Perso-Arabic script was marked as both illegible and alien. Within this rhetoric, which identified becoming European

---

[82] The Perso-Arabic script has a total of three vowels (ا, و and ي, which can be employed as long or short vowels), in comparison to Turkish's eight (a, ı, e, i, o, ö, u, ü). It also contains consonant sounds, such as the glottal stop, that are not present in words of Turkic origin. As a result, the same Ottoman spelling may have multiple pronunciations and meanings. Perhaps the most famous example of this is the verb "اولمق" which could be read as both "olmak" (to be) or ölmek (to die). For a detailed discussion of the applicability of the Perso-Arabic script to Ottoman see Geoffry Lewis, "The New Alphabet," *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1999), 27-40.

[83] Proposals ranged from the invention of new diacritical markers to represent the vowels of Turkish or writing all letters out unconnected on the line, to the adoption of a Latin-based script. For a detailed description of diverse proposals see Nergis Ertürk, *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 39-42.

with containing the ambiguities of Ottoman and the Arabic script, the Republican desire to create a completely phonetic script, in which consonant combinations such as "sh" and "ch" were rejected in favor of the single letters ş and ç, signified an attempt to eradicate ambiguity by containing the very otherness of language itself (Ertürk, *Grammatology* 88-93).[84] As Ertürk argues, this stage of "Turkish linguistic modernization… touches the discomfiting question of ethnocentrism. For we might say that the fear of "illegible" writing, in the world of discourse, is always a symptom of the fear of the "illegible" social other(s) within the social body itself" (4).

In contrast to this prevailing phonocentric discourse, the grandfather's notebooks in *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* are composed partly in Ottoman through 1936, well past the alphabet reform and into the most radical stage of language purification in the modern Republic of Turkey. And at a time period when Turkish literature and journalistic prose were being transliterated into the Latin script, these notebooks contain transliterations of Ottoman into Cyrillic. Transliteration is generally used as a method to make words and texts accessible to an audience incapable of reading a certain script. Within the field of translation studies, existing scholarship focuses by and large on creating methods to *limit* ambiguities that arise in the process of transliteration. In particular, libraries underscore the need for standardized systems to create clear and searchable methods of categorization. Within *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft,* however, the multilingual and transliterative quality of the grandfather's notebooks *embrace* difference and ambiguity, highlighting contentious geographic categorizations and modes of cultural orientation. Whereas the adaptation of a Latin script was held up in early Republican Turkey as a sign of Turkey's "natural" orientation toward a Greco-Roman heritage, Sascha recalls Cyrillic as "eine frühe Erfahrung des Fremden" (13) ["an early experience of foreignness," 11] along the route from Germany to Turkey. Populating long car drives through the Balkans, these Cyrillic letters marked a departure from what Sascha terms "unsere Kultur" (13) ["our culture," 12]. While the foreign is seemingly figured as something passed through en route to a final destination, it also represents a contentious border zone where the Ottoman Empire once overlapped with Europe, suggesting that the "foreign" may actually contain elements of "our" implied, common German culture. In stark contrast to Sascha's journalistic work, in which he is expected to uphold, and even create differences in order to maintain a societal hierarchy, the notebooks of Sascha's grandfather gesture again and again toward differences and ambiguities that exceed monocultural paradigms and undermine the concepts of center/periphery, East/West, and Self/Other.

The linguistic form of these notebooks is furthermore closely tied to the cursory and at times contradictory information Sascha reveals about his Ottoman grandfather's biography: He is figured simultaneously on the Armenian, or Eastern Front – and Greek, or Western front of the Turkish War for Independence in 1921. His presence on the Eastern Front leads Sascha to draw an associative link between his grandfather and Talat Pascha—a key orchestrator of the Armenian Genocide (1915-1916), who was assassinated by an

---

[84] A nine member "Language Council" (Dil Encümi, Dil Heyeti, later replaced by the Language Society) was established in May 1928 to study the applicability of Latin letters to the Turkish language. A 41 page "Alphabet Report" (Elifba Raporu), written by İbrahim Grantay in the name of the council, was submitted on 1 August 1928. This report emphasized in particular questions of orthography, stressing the need for one to one correspondence between each individual letter and sound. It further established the Istanbul dialect as the basis for a national phonetics (milli fonetika) (Ertürk, *Grammatology* 90). Atatürk introduced the "new Turkish letters" shortly thereafter through a speech at the public Sarayburnu park on 9 August 1928.

Armenian survivor in the neighborhood of Charlottenburg, Berlin in 1921. His presence on the Western Front further recalls the forced population exchanges in which 2 million people were relocated between Greece and Turkey. The figure of the grandfather is thus associated with two major projects to cleanse the Turkish national populace. Read within this context, the novel's emphasis on the notebook's linguistic properties calls attention to the link between linguistic nationalism and ethnic cleansing. In the following section, I ask more specifically what this history brings to contemporary debates surrounding language politics and memory discourse in the Federal Republic of Germany.

"LITERARY TRANSLATION" AS CROSS-LINGUISTIC REMEMBRANCE

The history of phoneticization and ethnic cleansing gestured toward through the notebooks in *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* is juxtaposed to Sascha's situation in a newly unified Berlin, where he describes myriad invisible dividing lines that have been erected in place of the Berlin Wall. Through the character of Sascha, the novel reveals one such metaphorical wall as constructed through the idiom of language. Following unification, for example, Sascha notes the frequency with which he is asked to *spell* his last name— Muhteschem—a word that marks him as a foreigner, despite his German passport. In one comic scene, a listener even puns on this last name, calling Sascha a "möchtegern-Deutscher" or a would-be German. In this mileu, his own novels are suddenly taken up as representative of "Ausländerliteratur," and Sascha finds himself described as a Turkish author, "der geschickt mit der deutschen Sprache [umgehen kann]" ["Who can skillfully use the German language" 129]. This assertion, which implies that Sascha does not speak German as a native language, is juxtaposed in the following paragraph with Sascha's recollection of a *dictation* he was required to pass in order to be naturalized as a German citizen (129).

These experiences point to a paradoxical situation, in which immigrants' language proficiency was increasingly held up as a sign of their relative integration into German society, at the same time that the development of new forms of linguistic nationalism following unification excluded immigrants from an ethnically defined German speech community. Şenocak's essays from the early 1990s point to this assertion of an exclusionary form of Germanness in and through language. In 1991, for example, he remarked on the tendency to celebrate unification through recourse to vocabulary from the 19th century, such as "Nation" and "Volk." Whereas these words have clearly locatable historical meanings, he argued on the contrary, that "Für die durch die historischen Brüche aufgekommenen Emotionen und psychischen Strukturen, für die Unordnung der neuen Ordnungen fehlen Begriffe" (*Atlas* 40) [„no terms can accurately describe the recently experienced historical breaks and disarray of new arrangements" *Atlas* 26]. In the highly critical essay "Wann ist der Fremde zu Hause?" [When is the foreign at Home?] he further notes a renewed questioning of his decision to write in German following the xenophobic attacks in Mölln and Solingen. The logic behind such probing, he argues, implies that one writes between a mother tongue and a foreign language, denying the possibility that a minority author may also view German as a mother tongue.

These issues became increasingly important at the time of *Gefährliche Verwandt-schaft*'s publication in 1998. Following Germany's official recognition of itself as an *Einwanderungsland* [country of immigration] in this same year, public debates on the right *and* left exhibited a hyperfocus on the issue of language proficiency. Such debates were

closely tied to a liberalization of German citizenship law in 2000; whereas citzenship had historically been based on the principle of jus sanguinis, or the right of blood, The new law (*Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz*) made provisions for the naturalizations of foreigners. In her analysis of the time period leading up to the passage of the new citizenship law, anthropologist Uli Linke describes a reconfiguration of Germanness and citizenship through the medium of language. On the one hand, the new law loosened an ethnic understanding of Germanness, in that it enabled certain groups of foreigners to either take, or be born into German citizenship; on the other hand, newly ethnicized understandings of language continued to mark immigrants as Other regardless of their relative proficiency in German (149-152).

I return here to the question of what it might mean to translate the notebooks of Sascha's grandfather into this context: If, as I argued earlier, these notebooks work against a paradigm of linguistic purity in the modern Turkish Republic that was tied to the phoneticization of the Turkish alphabet and the establishment of an ethnocultural Turkish identity—I argue that the act of translating these texts demands in turn a de-ethnicized understanding of the German language. This argument is necessarily complicated by questions of memory that arise within the novel: Notably the translator describes the notebooks as Sascha's own "Geschichte" (117). The double meaning of this word infers that while the notebooks comprise a part of Sascha's personal *history*, they are also in some way his own *story* to tell. The translation of these texts thus bears the work of remembering; yet as an act that exceeds the space of the novel—and gestures toward an as yet untold story—translation remains incomplete and open to the future. The problem of translation posed within the novel thus reformulates Şenocak's pointed questioning in 1990, "Heißt in Deutschland einzuwandern nicht auch in die jüngste deutsche Vergangenheit einzuwandern?" (*Atlas* 16) ["Does immigrating to Germany also mean immigrating to, entering into the arena of Germany's recent past?" *Atlas* 6].

Leslie Adelson has argued that Şenocak performs this very act through his essays, which "write a new subject of German remembrance into being" that focuses not on "the dangers of forgetting the past" but on "new conditions for re-membering twentieth century Germany in a present that Turks and Germans in the Federal Republic already share" ("Back to the Future" 103). In her discussion of a "literature of Turkish-German migration," she views Şenocak's own insistence on the need to "extend the concept of Germanness" as central to the new kinds of memory formation his essays and literature promote. In contrast to the historically either/or logic of German citizenship law—which is based on the principle of *jus sanguinis* and, until recently, did not allow for dual citizenship—this term points to the need for new forms of political and cultural inclusion, including the incorporation of assumedly minority literatures into the overall fabric of German history (*Turkish Turn* 7-9).

In pushing Sascha to remember the contradictions of *Turkish* modernity as experienced by his Ottoman grandfather, the novel adds another direction to such cross-historical remembering. I argue further that the notebooks pose a problem of cross-*linguistic* remembrance within the novel that applies beyond the character of Sascha—in emphasizing the *form* over the actual *content* of the notebooks—*Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* asks more generally how we might render multilingual, citational, and transliterative texts into *German* at the turn of the century. In contrast to the debate regarding (post)migrants' relative ability to remember or participate in an ethnicized understanding of the German past, translation opens up new modes of remembering through a de-ethnicized language.

The translation of the grandfather's notebooks speaks to what Michael Rothberg has termed the multidirectionality of memory, or the concept that: "Memories are not owned by groups—[just as] groups [are not] "owned" by memories. Rather, the borders of memory and identity are jagged; what looks at first like my own property often turns out to be a borrowing or adaptation from a history that initially might seem foreign or distant" (5). Rothberg's porous understanding of memory argues for a malleable public sphere that is not pre-given, or limited in space. Groups do not simply articulate established positions, but come into being through their dialogical interactions with others (4-5). The problem of translation posed within *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* asks more specifically what kind of language can bring the multidirectional quality of memory to the fore. In bearing the work of remembering across languages, translation also attests to a multilinguality of a shared present and future that challenges monolingual and monocultural paradigms of Germanness based on an understanding of ethnic collectivity. In the following section, I ask how similar acts of cross-linguistic remembrance surface in Şenocak's Turkish-language novel *Köşk*. Rather than signal a major reorientation in his writing career, I argue that Şenocak's "Turkish Turn" underscores the centrality of translation to his larger body of work by adding a new direction to the translation process.

SECTION TWO

~

Translational Reversal in *Köşk*

In his discussion of the globalization of German literature from within, Tom Cheesman argues against depictions of contemporary Turkish German literature through the trope of migration and turns instead to a concept of settlement:

> The term "literature of settlement" raises questions about the permanent, large-scale presence in Germany of Germans with non-German backgrounds. It refers not only to the firmly established population, but also to the negotiation between the interests and outlooks of the "native majority" and those of the putative "minority." (12)

As an author who has produced a large body of work focused quite specifically on German-Turks as a minority category in the larger German cultural sphere, Şenocak is central to Cheesman's conceptual framework (Cheesman 101). Şenocak's decision to write his most recent novels in Turkish[1] nevertheless pushes a concept of linguistic settlement to its limits. As David Gramling pointedly asks about Şenocak's 2008 Turkish-language novel *Kösk,* "Is [this] even a German novel, after all? Or has it strayed too far from the German linguistic and literary-cultural landscape to be credibly recognized as such?" ("Whose Residence?").

In this section, I argue that the medium of the Turkish language does not simply reaffirm Şenocak's Turkishness or signal a major reorientation in his writing career; it adds rather an additional layer to the processes of translation that inform all of his work. In particular, I read the abandoned Ottoman pavilion at the center of *Köşk*—from which the main character Hamit renders the post-war lyric poetry of Ingeborg Bachmann into Turkish following the 1960 military coup—as a translational space marked by the absences of Turkish modernity.

What does it mean for Hamit to translate from this site of absence? The answer to this question is tied to the significance of emptied out or abandoned houses (*verlassene Gehöfte, verlassenes Haus)* for Şenocak's diverse essayistic work. Over and over again, this image emerges in relation to questions of language. In contrast to the understanding of languages as closed systems with a discreet set of native speakers—which he often expresses through the image of a complete, and locked house (*ein vollkommenes, verschlossenes Haus*)—Şenocak imagines houses that can be deconstructed, and re-membered at will. Rather than a clear-cut form of reterritorialization, such re-membering is akin to the expressed desire to "build" a language with windows on every side, allowing for multiple points of entry (*Zugang*).

Noting the significance of the abandoned pavilion in *Köşk* as the former summer residence of the last Ottoman Caliph, Abdülmecid II, and his use of the pavilion as a meeting place for artists of different backgrounds, Saniye Uysal has described this space as a: "Bedeutungsspielraum, worin Kunst, Ästhetik, Vergangenheit, Tradition, Religion und Gegenwart miteinander in Berührung kommen" [97, A margin of meanings, in which art, aesthetics, the past, tradition, religion and the present come into contact].

In this section, I ask more specifically what role language plays within these diverse forms of contact? Uysal's use of the word "Spielraum" aptly describes the unique spatial quality of the pavilion as a physically enclosed, yet theoretically open structure. Building on this term, I suggest we can also read the pavilion as an *Übersetzungsraum* [translational

space], that challenges the assertion of a homogenous German or Turkish language community by enabling new forms of contact to emerge across geographically non-contingent and otherwise unrelated languages.

In the *Übersetzungsraum* of the pavilion, the concept of a geographic area is reduced to the space of a house. This is nevertheless the kind of abandoned house Şenocak describes alternately in the collection *Zungenentfernung* as an open structure, or linguistic space in which languages may freely interact, move toward and translate one another, or pull apart. As such, I argue that the historical absence symbolized by the pavilion challenges attempts to positively define a homogenous German *Leitkultur* [guiding culture] or *Integrationspolitik* [politics of integration] in the 21st century, particularly through recourse to language politics. It also goes beyond a conception of cultural pluralism, which asserts that minority groups fully participate in a dominant society while still maintaining their cultural particularity, and that a dominant society benefits from this condition. On the contrary, Şenocak advocates for a pluralism inherent to the dominant culture itself. This pluralism occurs first and foremost in the realm of language through a form of translation that brings *internal* difference to the fore.

My reading thus recognizes the historical absence at the core of the Ottoman pavilion as a site of opening for new, but also potentially painful linguistic crossings. The act of translating from absence in this space involves an interrogation of linguistic collectivity and one's ability to claim a language—and in particular a language understood as one's native tongue—as one's own. Finally, by examining moments of translational reversal that emanate from the emptied out space of the Pavilion, I argue that *Köşk* in turn demands to be translated into German—an act that was realized in 2009 with the publication of *Der Pavillion* by Dağyeli Verlag. As such, *Köşk* offers a commentary on both language and integration politics in Germany at the time of its publication.

"OPENING LANGUAGE"

A recurrent theme in Şenocak's essays is the need to interrogate the role language plays in the artificial localization and stabalization of identities. In *Atlas eines tropischen Deutschland* [1993, *Atlas of a Tropical Germany*],[85] he notes that a "Turkish" populace in Germany is all to often described through stereotyped symbols and tropes, such as headscarves, circumcision, talismans, and extended families (27). In contrast to a vocabulary that reiterates our assumptions about the Other, the task of mapping a "tropical" Germany can be understood as the need to chart a new language of *dis*orientation. A similar idea emerges in Şenocak's 2001 essay collection *Zungenentfernung.* Playing on the double meanings of *Entfernung*, this title suggests both a removal of tongues, and the distance between tongues; as such, it offers a tongue in cheek refutation of the stereotyped speechless migrant, at the same time that it gestures toward cultural essentializations that posit insurmountable differences between two German and Turkish worlds. In contrast to the rhetoric of cultural difference, Şenocak discusses the emergence of a negative hermeneutic in postmodern society, "die das vermeintlich Verstandene kritisch hinterfragt und das Unverstandene, Verdrängte in den Mittelpunkt rückt" (*Zungenentgernung* 103) ["that

---

[85] The English-language volume, *Atlas of a Tropical Germany: Essays on Politics and Culture*, was published in 2000. Edited and transalted by Leslie Adelson, this volume includes interviews with Şenocak, as well as essays from multiple collections including *Atlas* (1993), *War Hitler Araber?* (1994), and *Zungenentfernung: Bericht aus der Quarantänestation* (2001).

critically interrogates what is presumed to be understood… [and that] focuses…instead on what has not been understood, what has been displaced and repressed," *Atlas* 82]. What Şenocak implies here is that a serious interrogation of our very methods of understanding would require processes of unknowing. Ironically it is in admitting that we cannot fully know the Other, that some form of particularity can emerge through the resistance to simply assimilating the Other to the Self. In an alternate formulation, Şenocak reveals the difficult and painful nature of this process. He states that in order to heal the wounds of communication, we must first scrape the built up residue off of language (*Zungenentgernung* 90). In other words, we need to conceive of a new language with tropes that are not based on pre-conceived knowledge or superficial models of intercultural understanding.

Şenocak's most recent essay collection, *Deutschsein* [2010, Being German], explicitly addresses a need to "open" the German language, in order to create a more inclusive language learning process for those who have been discursively excluded from an ethnically defined German-language community. Here Şenocak develops the concept of an "integrative Sprache" [integrative language], or a language that offers learners a sense of security. The concept of an "integrative Sprache" forms a counterpoint to the official *Integrationspolitik* established in Germany in 2007—just one year prior to the publication of *Köşk*. Following a second liberalization of German citizenship law in 2005,[86] minister of State Maria Böhmer declared the integration of approximately 15 million people with a history of migration to be "die große Zukunftsfrage für unser Land" ("Pflicht") [The great question for Germany's future], and integration was made an official government responsibility.

A national integration plan was consequently developed under the motto "Fördern und Fordern" [Promote and Demand]. In accordance with the 2005 Immigration Act, which stipulated German language competency as a prequisite for legal residency in Germany,[87] the core of this program consists of 600 hours of mandatory language instruction, paired with 60 hours of *Orientierungskurse* [orientation courses] in values considered central to German society (religious freedom, German law, tolerance, equality). With its emphasis on linguistic and cultural orientation, the rhetoric surrounding this plan echoes heated debates at the turn of the century regarding a German *Leitkultur*—or guiding culture—which asserted a one-way process of assimilation, in which there is no room for plural, transcultural, or polylingual identities.

This term was originally coined by the Syrian-German political scientist Bassam Tibi in 1998 in reference to a European *Leitkultur* based on the core values of democracy, secularism, human rights and civil society (154). Based on a system of value *consesus*, Tibi's concept of *Leitkultur* worked against manifestations of both monoculturalism and value-blind multiculturalism, by emphasizing a form of non-hierarchical cultural pluralism. Parliamentary chairman of the CDU Friedrich Merz generated heated national debate regarding this term in October 2000, with an article entitled "Einwanderung und Identität" [Immigration and Identity] in *Die Welt.* This article dovetailed with Merz' proposal to limit annual immigration numbers to 200,000—or approximately 0.25% of the population—the

---

[86] In 2004 the *Ausländergesetz* [Aliens Act] was replaced by the *Zuwanderungsgesetz* [Immigration Act]. The Immigration Act went into affect in 2005. Provisions included an *Aufenthaltsgesetz* [Residence Act], such that anyone who has held an *Aufenthaltserlaubnis* [residence permit] for five years can apply for a *Niederlass-ungserlaubnis* [Settlement Permit].

[87] The 2005 Immigration Act that "foriegners should become accustomed to the living conditions in federal territory to the extent that they will possess the necessary self-sufficiency to handle all aspects of everyday life without assistance from a third party" (Göktürk et al., *Transit* 191).

maximum number he saw the German culture as capable of absorbing. In this article, Merz rejects multiculturalism as a producer of parallel societies and advocates instead for the compulsory assimilation of Germany's resident migrants to what he terms a "freiheitliche deutsche Leitkultur" [freedom-based German guiding culture]. Merz placed a strong emphasis on the German language as a core element of *Leitkultur*:

> Eine erfolgreiche Einwanderungs- und Integrationspolitik muss darüber hinaus darauf bestehen, dass die deutsche Sprache verstanden und gesprochen wird. Dies ist nicht nationaler Sprachchauvinismus, sondern Grundvoraussetzung eines friedlichen Miteinanders in unserem Land, es ist die kulturelle Basis auch dann, wenn das Grundgesetz dazu schweigt. ("Einwanderung")

> [A successful immigration and integration policy must insist that the German language be understood and spoken. This requirement is not national linguistic chauvinism, but rather a basic precondition for peaceful coexistence in our country; it is also our cultural foundation even if the Basic Law does not touch on this issue, [the German language] remains the cultural basis]. (Trans. Gramling, *Transit* 314)

The overwhelming emphasis placed on language in integration policy of the 21st century echoes this aspect of the *Leitkultur* debate, and calls attention to the contested nature one's relative language capabilities continue to play as a marker of difference, in a society where an increasing number of second and third generation immigrants have either chosen to take, or been born into German citizenship.[88]

For Şenocak, the act of "opening" German begins with the recognition that a perceived cleft between "Germans" and "Turks" is precipitated in and reinforced through the very medium of language: "Aus dem Gastarbeiter wurde der Ausländer, aus diesem der Einwanderer, daraus wiederum ein Mensch mit Migrationshintergrund—eine lange Reise, bei dem der Mensch noch nicht bei Menschen angekommen ist" [*Deutschsein* 86, The Guestworker became the foreigner, who became the immigrant, who then became a person with a history of migration—a long journey, along which the human has still not arrived among humans]. Despite numerous changes in official terminology, this quotation highlights the way in which categorical labels continue to take on charged, and often negative meanings through their every-day usage.

Wolfgang Kaschuba has similarly documented how debates regarding who does or does not qualify as a "migrant" has created a *Fremdendiskurs* [discourse on foreigners] in place of a much needed *Einwanderungsdiskurs* [discourse on immigration] in Germany (489). As a legal term, for example, *Ausländer* designates a person without German citizenship; through its more common usage is has nevertheless become a derogatory slur for migrants. The phrase "Mensch mit Migrationshintergrund" [person with immigration

---

[88] The central, but contested role language acquisition has played in the discourse of integration was particularly evident in debates regarding minority students' use of languages other than German on school grounds. The multicultural Herbert-Hoover-Realschule in Berlin was at the forefront of such debates with its decision to ban the use of other languages during school hours, including breaks between classes, in order to improve students' command of German. The school won the 75,000 Euro Prize of the *Deutsche Nationalstiftung* [German National Foundation] for its implementation of this policy, which was deemed central to students' integration into German society (Lau 410-414). This decision, which was widely supported by administrators, students, and parents alike, reinforced an emphasis on langauge as the central medium through which integration can, and should take place.

background] was first utilized in the 2005 micro-census to account for complex demographic information that the term *Ausländer* was no longer able to incorporate. Designating any person who either migrated to Germany after 1949, or was born in Germany to at least one non-German parent, this term marks the difficulty in determining who is or is not "German" as an ever-increasing population of second and third generation migrants either choose to take, or are born into German citizenship. While the term refers to a broad spectrum of persons, including ethnic German immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, it has often been used in public discourse as a politically correct euphemism for more openly discriminatory terms such as *Ausländer*, thus providing a way to categorize migrants as such, despite their legal status.[89]

In contrast to the kind of negative interpolation perpetuated by such terminology, Şenocak argues that a language must firstly offer its speakers a sense of security (*Geborgenheit*). This cannot happen when public debates take recourse to the themes of linguistic deficits and failed integration, which reiterate a formulaic language learning process with an established right and wrong method of acquisition. On the contrary, Şenocak argues that language acquisition is not simply a rational learning process, but also a sensual one: "Das Spracherlebnis ist durchaus vergleichbar mit dem körperlichen Kontakt. Es ist eine Berührung des Bewusstseins. Was fühlt man bei dieser Berührung? Wärme? Kälte? Schmerz?" [*Deutschsein* 16, Experiencing language is comparable with bodily contact. It is a touch of consciousness. What do we feel upon contact? Warmth? Cold? Pain?].

Şenocak's emphasis on coldness and pain in this formulation is notable in an essay that otherwise calls for security, inclusion, and positive emotional associations with a foreign language. It resonates strongly with the essay's opening quotation from Paul Celan: "Ins Offene, dorthin, wo Sprache auch zur Begegnung führen kann" [qtd in *Deutschsein* 9, Into an openness, where language can lead to encounter]. Rather than a source of security or self-assurance, this brief quote from a 1958 letter suggests that language has the potential to become a radically destabilizing factor in one's identity.

Like Celan's depiction of poetry as a *Flaschenpost*—or a message in a bottle—it envisions a poetic language *en route* to the openness of an as-yet-unknown encounter. Notably, the date of this quotation prefigures by just one year the publication of *Sprachgitter* (1959), following which Celan's poetry became increasingly sparse, his syntax increasingly broken. While often referential and extremely difficult, Celan's later poetry demands the possibility of new, open encounters through the expansion of German's modes of expression. In the absence of conjunctions, individual isolated words rub against one another, their often polysemous and ambiguous character leaving his poems radically open to diverse interpretation.[90] While often viewed as hermetic and untranslatable, Celan's later poetry figures over and over again the necessity of dialogue and encounter.[91] This ever-sharpening necessity is compounded by Celan's specific relationship to the German language: Wrought in the aftermath of the horrors of the Shoah, Celan's poetry grapples both with the inherent difficulty of writing in the language of the perpetrator, and the need to resist accepted modes of communication through that very language.

---

[89] For the official definition of the term *Mensch mit Migrationshintergrund* see the glossary of the Bundesamt für Migration und Fluchtlinge: http://www.bamf.de/DE/Service/Left/Glossary/

[90] Exemplary poems are "Ich bin der Tiefgebeugte," "Atemkristal," "Atemwende."

[91] For an insightful discussion of this aspect of Celan's poetry see: Kurt Beals, "Alternative to Impossibility: Translation as Dialogue in the Works of Paul Celan," Translation Studies (7:3, 2014), 284-299.

In Celans famous "Bremen Speech" of 1958, he argues that despite its passage through "tausend Finsternisse todbringende Rede" [the thousand darknesses of death-bringing Speech], the German language is still in some way reachable, close and secure. Despite everything, German remains the language in which Celan seeks to "orient" himself, to discover his own position. In 1960, Celan nevertheless developed a conception of a poetic meridian that challenges the very concepts of security and orientation. The absolute poem, "behauptet sich am Rande seiner Selbst" ["holds its ground on its own margin" 49]; fluctuating between a "schon-nicht-mehr" ["already-no-more" 49] and an "immer-noch" ["still-here" 49], it both departs from and heads toward the imaginary topographical site of the meridian.

Şenocak's own depiction of Celan's poetry as a "Nachlass sprachlicher (Un)möglichkeiten" [*Zungenentfernung* 95, Inheritance of linguistic (im)possibilities] suggests the freeing power of this otherwise impossible site of arrival. Reformulating the oft-cited assertion that Celan's poetry tends toward silence (*verstummen*), Şenocak views placelessness (*Ortlosigkeit*) and disappearance (*verschwunden sein*) as the underlying conditions of his work. Whereas silence can no longer be heard, language that has disappeared persists in a compressed, yet intensified form (94); rendered unspeakable, it continues to be felt through its absence.

As an avid reader of Celan's poetry, Şenocak's choice of opening quotations is certainly no coincidence; it points rather to the complicated nature of linguistic "openness" he develops throughout his essay. On one hand, Şenocak quite concretely decries delimiting expressions such as *Ausländer*, *Integration* and *Zugehörigkeit* that have become charged with fixed, negative associations; at the same time, he calls upon language learners to cultivate an abstract openness to the diverse sounds, tastes and emotional registers of German. It is only through such an empathetic relationship to language, he argues, that one can forge an individual "Sprachgefühl" [feeling for language] which he alternately describes as a "Kompass der Heimatfindung" [compass for locating home] (*Deutschsein* 16).

While this argumentation suggests the ability to orient oneself through, and uncover a home for oneself in language, the essay also fundamentally questions what it means to both feel at home in, and to feel *oneself* in language: "Sprachgefühl," Şenocak writes, "ist der Schlüssel…zum Hineindenken ins Eigensein, das nicht selten auch ein Anderssein ist" [17, A feeling for language… is the key to understanding one's sense of self, which is not seldomly also a sense of Otherness]. Openness thus does not simply promise comfort and security, but rather harbors unsettling possibilities regarding one's relationship to language and to one's self.

Notably, translation emerges in Şenocak's essay as a key form of linguistic openness: In contrast to the concept of a third, or hybrid language, Şenocak identifies the creative potential of a linguistic space in which languages are able to freely interact, move toward and translate one other (20). Within this space the German and Turkish languages would be free to both touch and pull apart, highlighting potential gaps that emerge between languages during the translation process. Such gaps do not represent essential or untranslatable differences between German and Turkish, but serve as openings to negotiate personal, historical, religious-ideological and *linguistic* borders.

In the following sections, I read the abandoned Ottoman pavilion within *Köşk* as a similar site of translation that produces new forms of *unsettling* linguistic openness. Marked by moments of reversal and uncanny self-departures, Hamit's translation of Bachmann from this space allows for a critical plurality of voice to emerge that challenges ethnocultural

assertions of linguistic belonging and serves as an opening to new forms of cross-linguistic remembrance.

THE LETTER COUP

While the non-linear narrative of *Köşk* is told from multiple points of view, the novel is roughly centered on the main Turkish character of Hamit. Through his romantic relationship to the German character Hilde, diverse forms of cross-cultural contact emerge throughout the novel. Following his music studies in Munich, Hamit is called upon by his elder brother to return to Istanbul and aid him in modernizing the family honey business. Hilde accompanies Hamit to Istanbul, where his brother has established a bee colony in the gardens of an abandoned Ottoman pavilion on the Asian side of the city.

Shortly following Hamit's return to Turkey, the ruling *Demokrat Parti* is overthrown in the 1960 military coup, and the prime minister, Adnan Menderes, taken prisoner. The exaggerated matter-of-factness with which Şenocak announces this tumultuous moment in Turkish history reflects Hamit's own indifference to the radical political changes at hand: "Gelişlerin üçüncü haftası ihtilal olmuş sokağa çıkma yasağa konmuştu. Bu durum köşke yerleşmek mekanla bütünleşmek için iyi bir fırsattı" (50). ["Three weeks after their arrival, the revolution came and there was a curfew on walking in the streets. Given the situation, it was a good opportunity to settle into the residence and get to know the place" 34].[92]

The simplicity of Şenocak's language here nevertheless belies the complexity of the task at hand. The "residence" referred to is actually the abandoned summer home of the deceased Lord Caliph Abdülmecit—the last ruling Ottoman Caliph—who was sent into exile after the founding of the modern Turkish Republic in 1923 and the official abolition of the position of Caliphate in 1924. Settling into the residence and its complicated history thus also raises the question of what it means to reside in the historical absence—embodied by the figure of Abdülmecit—at its core.

Saniye Uysal describes this deserted residence as "ein Sinnbild jener 'leeren' Topografien im kulturellen Gedächtnis der Türkei…die im Zuge der Modernisierung entstanden sind" [97, a symbol [of the] empty topographies in Turkey's cultural history that arose throughout the modernization process]. Building on Nergis Pamukoğlu-Daş' work on the literature of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Uysal emphasizes the significance of this emptied out space—both literally and symbolically—for the Turkish experience of modernity. The modernizing and westernizing reforms instated by the Kemalist party throughout the 1920s and 30s forced many abrupt breaks with Ottoman-Islamic cultural tradition, such as the abolishment of the Şeriat courts and adaptation of the Swiss Civil Code, the adoption of the European calendar and 24 hour day, and the establishment of a new system of secular primary and secondary schools. The Kemalist desire to force a clean break from its Ottoman predecessor did not, however, simply erase the pre-history of the modern Turkish Republic. On the contrary, the Ottoman past can be said to have persisted throughout the Republican modernizing project in the form of absence.

---

[92] This citation is from David Gramling's translation of *Köşk*. A more literal translation would read "Given the situation, it was a good opportunity to settle into the residence and become unified with its space."

The following passage from a brief but salient chapter in *Köşk* titled, "Tarihe Düşülen Not" [A Footnote to History], expresses the significance of an elusive and threatening absence as a defining feature of the modern Turkish identity:

> Bu memleketin saklı bir yüzü vardır. Görünmez ama her yerde kendini hissettirir. Bazen bir sözcükte saklanır, bazen bir bakışta. Kesilip atılan bir uzuv gibi kendi boşluğunda ebedileşir. Onu unutamazsın. Yokmuş gibi davranırsın, ama o seni hep gözetler, kıpırdarken seninledir, nefes alıp veririken kendi payını ister. Söz dinlemez. (71-72)

> [This country has a secret face. Invisible but everywhere felt. Sometimes it is embedded in a word, sometimes in a gaze. Like a limb cut off and thrown away, it is immortalized in its own absence. You cannot forget it. You carry on as if it doesn't exist, but it is always observing you, it stirs within you, it wants its piece of you, every moment you breathe. It does not obey.] (51)

Dated 27 May 1960, this excerpt ties the events of the first Turkish military coup to a larger problem of self-identification in the modern Turkish Republic strikingly relevant to the experience of trauma. The implied Turkish subject is constantly affected by the disabling power of an ever-present absence that was once integral to, but can no longer be successfully incorporated into the self. The centrality of this evasive absence to the subject's self-perception further points to the temporal experience of trauma, in which the initial event occurs so suddenly that it can not be fully processed. The impact of the event is only manifested later, often in the form of flashbacks or dreams, that nevertheless reveal the impossibility of fully knowing the conditions of the traumatic experience.

Agnese Fidecaro discusses this repetitive character of trauma in terms of a "temporal untranslatability" (185). [93] Pointing to translation's underlying meaning of transfer or transmission, she argues that the traumatized subject is tied to a disconnected moment in the past. Trauma enacts a form of failed or ineffective translation that prevents the subject from moving harmoniously through time.

Notably, shortly following the military coup, Hamit notices that the clock on his bedside table has stopped at quarter to nine. Through the image of this clock, Şenocak further ties Hamit's initial non-experience of the coup to the larger history of modernizing reforms in the Turkish Republic and the absences left in their wake. Upon realizing that the clock's numbers are written in the Ottoman script, Hamit asks himself, "Sayıların hangi alfabeyle yazılmış olmasının ne önemi vardı. Zamanın akışı yeni bir alfabeyle değişmiyordu ki" (51). ["What did it matter what alphabet the numbers were written in. The flow of time doesn't change with a new alphabet, does it?" 33-34].

In contrast to the purely natural flow of time implied by Hamit's naively rhetorical question, this stopped clock with Arabic numerals points to the effects of Republican modernizing reforms on the historical experience of time. As a precursor to more radical language reform that sought to purge all Arabic and Persian vocabulary from the language, the introduction of a new alphabet in 1928 was central to the larger nationalizing project and the production of a unified form of Turkishness. The replacement of the Perso-Arabic script of Ottoman with Latin letters was the first major step toward establishing a monolingual paradigm in the modern Turkish Republic over and against the multilingualism and

---

[93] Fidecaro develops this term in relation to her discussion of *Clear Light of Day* by Anita Desai.

heteroglossia of the Ottoman Empire. The new, phonetic alphabet both aligned the modern Turkish language with a secular Western European tradition and emphasized the ornate and backward qualities of Ottoman. In relation to this history, the stopped time of the clock with Arabic numerals in *Köşk* does not simply point to the residence as a relic of the past; it also questions the relationship between the homogenizing effects of phonetization and language reform, and the modern experience of a shared, standardized time in the Republic.

At the same time, the shape of this clock—which Hamit likens to that of a human face—attests to Hamit's deeply *personal* experience of both language and time in the Ottoman pavilion. Posed shortly following the 1960 military coup, his remarks on the clock's script recall the diverse military terminology used to describe language reform in the early Republican period. Mustafa Kemal notably compared language reform to the War of Independence: "The Turkish nation, which knows how to protect its [country] and its sublime freedom must save its language from the yoke of foreign languages" (qtd in Ertürk, *Grammatology* 95). Such rhetorical defense of Turkish language reform as liberation warfare was typical throughout the late 1920s and 1930s. Within this history, it is no coincidence that the introduction of the Latin alphabet was referred to as the *Harf İnkılabı* [Letter Revolution, 1928],[94] a term expressive of the radical break Republican language reform sought to enact with its Ottoman precursor.[95]

What Hamit's question brings to the fore is how the traumatic elements of this history continue to affect speakers of modern Turkish well beyond the initial period of language reform.[96] Yet rather than pose this history as debilitating, *Köşk* explores the potentially liberating aspects it has for Hamit. Within the novel, Hamit's personal construction of time is indirectly affected by the alphabet reforms of 1928. As he slowly becomes interested in the modern Republic's Ottoman heritage, he is confronted with his inability to educate himself through the texts available to him at the pavilion. Limited in mobility due to recent political

---

[94] Another key usage of military vocabulary in the early phase of language reform is the "word collection mobilization" (*söz derleme seferberliği*, 1932), which compiled and evaluated words currently in use throughout the Anatolian provinces. By tapping into local dialects, this project was central to the goal of "uncovering" an essential and pure form of modern Turkish excised of unnecessary foreign vocabulary. These shared, spoken words were lexicalized according to their Arabic and Persian equivalents and published in dictionary format. The abstract manner in which this shared vocabulary was re-presented to its own speakers is a prime example of the alienating nature of Turkish language reform.

[95] The Turkish history of language purism has interesting parallels in the German context. Yasemin Yıldız traces a German discourse surrounding linguistic purity to Baroque language societies, which sought to eliminate foreign-derived words from an as-yet unstandardized German in order to heighten its prestige vis-à-vis other European languages such as Latin and French. The specific term *Fremdwort* [foreign-derived word] originated in the 1810s, in a period of German nationalism following the Napoleanoic Wars. In 1816, Ludwig Jahn described *Fremdwörter* as biologically inassimilable outcasts, and as mongrels disguised as naturalized citizens. This juxtaposition of biological and civic models of belonging echoes antisemitic rhetoric of the time period, and foreshadowed links between language and racial purity that became increasingly pronounced in the second half of the 19th century. Debates surrounding language purism gathered momentum following the establishment of the *Deutsches Reich* in 1871, with the rise of conservative organizations such as the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Sprachverein* [General German Language Association]. Yıldız further notes how the Nazis ironically employed many foreign-derived words such as *Konzentrationslager* [concentration camp], *Euthanasie* [euthanasia], and *Sterilisation*. Their resistance to producing pure German equivalents for such words suggests a refusal to publicly admit what these words actually refered to. In Yıldız' estimation, the Nazi's considered language too porous to form a sufficient basis for racial ideology (*Beyond* 72-77).

[96] Yasemin Yıldız argues, for example, that the violence of 20th century Turkish language reform continues to haunt as a loss in Emine Sevgi Özdamar's short stories "Mother Tongue" and "Grandfather Tongue." In Yıldız' reading, Özdamar's use of literal translation is not a means of recuperating a lost mother tongue; it testifies rather to a loss central to the mother tongue itself (*Beyond* 143-168).

upheavals and lacking knowledge of the old script, Hamit turns to a completely different history and source of personal inspiration: post-World War II German lyric poetry.

In the following section, I explore how the work of Ingeborg Bachmann, in particular, is central to Hamit's personal exploration of time and language in relation to the traumatic events of the 1960 military coup and WWII. Building off of Uysal's understanding of the pavilion as a liminal space that enables temporal crossings and imaginative associations with the past (97), I argue that the abandoned residence also enables new linguistic crossings and forms of German-Turkish communication.

LEARNING TO LISTEN THROUGH REVERSAL

In the final chapter of *Köşk*, Hamit comments on his daily practice of reading one or two poems *aloud* in the garden of the pavilion. "Bazı şiirler duyduğum ama dile getiremediğim sesleri, içimde yankılandırıyor" (133). ["Some poems make sounds I have heard but never expressed echo within me," 100] he writes in a letter to a fellow musical acquaintance. As an example of what he means, he offers his own translation of the following two lines from Ingeborg Bachmann's poem "Herbstmanöver" [Autumn Maneuver]:

Und der Fluchtweg nach Süden kommt uns
nicht wie den Vögeln zustatten

Kaçıp kurtulmak için kapalı bize
Kuşlara güneye varan yolları… (133)

[And the escape southward isn't feasible for us
as it is for the birds] (100)

Disregarding the question of content, Hamit judges the *sound* of his translation a success. His seemingly apolitical reading of Bachmann's poem recalls the early reception of her early lyric work in Germany. While her first collection, *Die gestundete Zeit* [1953, *Deferred Time*] was an immediate success, critics' overwhelming emphasis on the aesthetic qualities of Bachmann's bold new form of lyrical expression conveniently disregarded the moral imperatives at its core. While Bachmann rarely names Germany or the Holocaust outright,[97] *Die gestundete Zeit* is shot through with images of pain, destruction, and catastrophe that directly and intensely reflect on recent historical traumas under the Third Reich. Written at a time when many perpetrators of Nazi crimes were once again in positions of power, the urgency and expressive immediacy of Bachmann's lyric suggests the need to confront a present that seems to have stood still with its otherwise forgotten past.

Among the poems of *Die gestundete Zeit*, "Herbstmanöver" is notable for its direct and confrontational character. Opening with an almost militant refusal to forget the atrocities of the past—"Ich sage nicht: das war gestern" (21: 1) [I don't say: ah yesterday]—its tone echoes the title's reference to the military maneuvers staged by NATO forces in Germany every fall. The poem's assertion of *time*'s autumn maneuver further connects the onset of a seasonal cold to the early stages of the Cold War.

Despite Hamit's de-emphasis on the content of Bachmann's poem, its depiction of a

---

[97] Bachmann only names Germany once in the poem "Früher Mittag."

naturalized, everyday experience of war draws a clear connection to his own situation in Turkey following the 1960 military coup. His decision to specifically translate lines referring to an "escape southward"—taken from the middle of the first stanza—nevertheless stages a reversal of the poem's critical message in relation to Hamit's own personal history. Referring to popular German tourist destinations in Italy at the onset of the economic miracle, "Herbstmanöver" decries those who sought to forget the recent past amidst gondolas, cypress trees, and beautiful sunsets (21: 17-20).

In contrast to Bachmann's depiction of a pre-packaged touristic escape, Hamit's travels southward from Munich to Istanbul bring him into contact with military violence at home and ultimately force him to confront the past on his own personal terms. This translative *reversal* in the closing pages of *Köşk* invites its readers to consider another issue at hand in Hamit's discussion of "Herbstmanöver." Within the larger context of the novel— and the specific lines of "Herbstmanöver" Hamit chooses to translate—this transforms the question of how Bachmann forged a new mode of lyrical expression in postwar Germany into the question of how Hamit chooses to *listen* to her poetry from Turkey following the coup.

In addressing this question I want to first briefly discuss a seemingly separate, but theoretically relevant, act of sound *production* in the novel. During his musical studies in Munich, Hamit works as assistant to Teoman, a sound-editor for German films. Together, Teoman and Hamit edit a German *Heimatfilm*; Teoman's depiction of this genre as "ıvır zıvır doktor filmleri" (40) ["trinkety doctor films," 26) reflects a general understanding of the *Heimatfilm* as an escapist retreat from the rubble of war-torn urban centers. In relation to Hamit's translation of Bachmann, I argue however that his brief encounter with this genre is tied to larger questions of language and belonging in the novel:

In his book-length treatment of this genre, Johannes von Moltke has described the *Heimatfilm* as a site:

> …where 1950s (film) culture negotiated central concerns with home, space, and belonging in the ongoing process of national reconstruction. In this context, the *Heimatfilm* came to function as a veritable (if selective) map to a postwar national space—not just through the seemingly untouched, spectacular landscapes that provided its locations, but also through the concern with questions of space and place inherent in the trope of *Heimat* itself. (23)

Teoman and Hamit's work on the *Heimatfilm* genre suggests not only that this cinematic map of postwar national space was mediated by non-German actors, but that aspects of the foreign and the non-local play an active role in the production of *Heimat*. Hamit's work for Teoman leads further to his own uncanny experience of *Heimat* from abroad. On the dark and rainy night Hamit first meets Teoman, he recalls the sounds of a Turkish climate and geography (37). The studio also evokes a distant sense of home for Hamit: it is pervaded by the familiar smell of Turkish tea, but also by Teoman's impeccable—and slightly strange—Turkish, marked with the accent of someone who has not spoken his native language for a long time (39). This situation recalls Hamit's experience translating Bachmann, in which German words find an echo in their Turkish counterparts. In the space of the studio, Hamit *listens* to the familiar, yet estranged sounds of home as he *produces* sound for a "German" representation of *Heimat*. In the space of the abandoned pavilion, I argue that listening to language he has produced in translation evokes a similarly uncanny experience of *Heimat* for Hamit.

A term that emerged historically with German unification in 1871, Celia Applegate

identifies the idea of *Heimat* as an attempt to negotiate the abstract concept of the nation in terms of one's own spatial presence and immediate surroundings. *Heimat* thus facilitated a concrete and metaphorical experience of the local, through the attempt to reconcile a singular identity with a larger, abstract notion of Germanness (von Moltke 9-10). In *Köşk*, I argue that Şenocak probes beyond this association of *Heimat* with a specific locality and points to the medium of language as a key source of security and communal belonging. The novel nevertheless reformulates the oft-asserted claim that language constitutes one key experience of *Heimat*; Hamit's translation of Bachmann—which is marked by reversal—leads instead to a language rendered Other to itself, undermining the possibility of a cohesively defined national language community.

Hamit's experience is set against that of his girlfriend, Hilde, whom he describes as carrying a form of *Heimat* within, "Hilde bu adı konulmamış diyardan uzaklaştırılmamıştı, onu içinde benliğinde taşıyordu çünkü" (52). ["She could not be exiled from that nameless land, because she carried it around within her, in the way she said I" 36]. Hilde's sense of self is nevertheless marked by traumatic war-time experience: with a German party-member father and Czech mother, her family was classified as German following the war and driven from the Sudetenland; following unclear circumstances, Hilde was orphaned and eventually adopted by an affluent, happy couple in Munich, who were nevertheless plagued by their inter-religious (Protestant-Catholic) marriage within a close-knit Bavarian community.

Hilde thus carries a contradictory and hostile sense of *Heimat* within, the contours of which are not irrelevant to Hamit's work on the *Heimatfilm* genre. While the typical *Heimatfilm* attempted, on one hand, to recuperate a sense of wholeness in post-war society, many films of the genre prominently featured refugees displaced from areas such as Pomerania and the Sudetenland. Particularly in films of the 1950s, "Heimat [became] a terrain traversed by the Nazi past, by the millions of refugees that Nazi Germany and WWII produced" (von Moltke 17). In his analysis of *Grün ist die Heide* [*1951, The Heath Is Green*], for example, von Moltke argues that a sense of homelessness (*Heimatlosigkeit*), which the definition of *Heimat* is generally understood in opposition to, actually emerges as central to Silesian refugees' experience of a *zweite Heimat* in post-war northern Germany. This second *Heimat* is both a place *like* home, and the Other of that home, the meaning of which is learned by way of its absence.

Hamit experiences *Heimat* in *Kösk*, on the contrary, through an intellectual separation from his country that occurs only after he physically returns home. This idea is expressed through Hamit's letter exchange with an Italian composer he meets in Munich and maintains contact with after returning to Turkey. In one letter, the composer asserts that in his own form of patriotism he keeps his native country within, carrying it around and hiding it from his fellow countrymen. In response, Hamit expresses the following about the 1960 military coup:

Müslümanları tehlikeli sayan, onları benden daha iyi tanıyan, onların iç ve dış yüzlerinin farklı olduğunu iddia eden, Türkiye'nin her sorununu, geri kalmışlığını onların hanesine yazan bir kesim var. İdare şimdi bu kesimin elinde sayılır. Eh, silah da onların elinde zaten. Ben ne siyasetten ne de silahtan bir şey anladığım için olup bitenleri kuzu kuzu seyrediyorum. Sanki keni memleketimde değil de yabancı bir yerdeyim. Benim de sizin gibi bir memleketim yok artık. Ben de şair olabilirim. (126)

[There is a faction that considers Muslims dangerous, that knows them better than I do and claims they are two-faced, and that ascribes to them all of Turkey's problems and its retrograde state. Governance is now in the hands of this faction. Oh, and so are the guns.

Given that I know next to nothing about politics or weapons, I just sit by like a lamb and watch this all happen. It's as if I'm not in my own country but somewhere foreign. Like you, I have no country now. Now I can become a poet.] (95)

Hamit's expression of homelessness *at home* suggests the opposite of the refugee experience. Yet he describes a sense of personal estrangement that resonates conceptually with Edward Said's depiction of exile as a form of critical distance from one's own cultural identity. Following Adorno's statement that "it is part of morality not to be at home in one's home" (qtd in Said 147), Said underscores both the deep sense of loss and anxiety produced by exile, and the unique "plurality of vision" (148) it enables. For Said, exile is an unsettling and decentering experience in which new memories are formed against the backdrop of experiences in another environment; distance affords a sense of critical perspicuity that refuses to take the collective power of home and language for granted.

Hamit's professed ambivalence is seemingly devoid of the moral imperative to actively resist orthodoxies of power inherent to Said's theoretical formulation. A critical plurality of *voice* nevertheless emerges in *Köşk* through the act of translation, which enables a mode of listening to Turkish following the 1960 military coup *through* a German inflected by the traumas of WWII. This mode of listening is closely tied to the space of the Ottoman pavilion from which Hamit translates. With regard to Şenocak's metaphoric depiction of language in *Zungenentfernung* as an abandoned or empty house, it is tempting to read the pavilion in *Köşk* as a form of "ou-topos" or "no-place." I argue, however, that neither Şenocak's essays nor *Köşk* put forth a utopian concept of *Heimat* as an experience of language that one carries within. The act of translating from the Ottoman pavilion offers rather a pointed questioning of what it means to translate from absence, and an interrogation of one's ability to claim a language and a *Heimat* as one's own.

Underlying these issues is the larger question of how one listens at all to depictions of traumatic events that defy the representational power of language. Unlike her good friend Paul Celan, Ingeborg Bachmann was not a survivor of the Holocaust, and her lyric poetry does not attempt to work through traumatic experience from a personal perspective. Her poetry—which brings together the perspectives of both victims and victimizers— nevertheless attests to the experience of trauma. The Holocaust and Auschwitz are never explicitly mentioned in *Die gestundete Zeit;* imagistic depictions of catastrophe and destruction remain unspecific, to the point that Sigrid Weigel characterizes the collection as outside of geography, an expression of "Ortlosigkeit" and "Unbestimmtheit der Verortung" [240, Placelessness and indeterminacy of location]. Eva Revesz argues further that Bachmann's "conspicuous silence" surrounding the unspeakable events of the Holocaust is characteristic of German and Austrian literature in the immediate post-war period, "the event was simply too traumatic to face head on and as such, too ineffable to put into words" (195).

The inclusion of Bachmann's poetry in *Köşk* does not, however, simply gesture toward the unrepresentability of traumatic events; it opens new modes of transcultural communication that are not based on the tropes of knowability or understanding. As Cathy Caruth notes, the more the medical profession is able to locate and classify the symptoms of trauma the more "[it] seem[s] to have dislocated the boundaries of our modes of understanding" ("Introduction" 4). The radical disruptions of consciousness that traumatic crises cause are not easily explained or cured; they reveal rather what we do *not* know about the circumstances of the actual traumatic occurrence.

In her analysis of literary representations of trauma, Caruth argues that this *inability* to fully know the circumstances of traumatic events demands new modes of both speaking and listening that can engender potential links between individuals and cultures: "This speaking and this listening…from the site of trauma…does not rely" she argues, "on what we simply know of each other, but on what we don't yet know of our own traumatic pasts" (11). If both speaking about and listening to trauma is marked by the inherent impossibility of locating the event itself, we cannot listen for a specific depiction of the event, but must learn to listen for the survivor's *departure* from it. This is a process that demands, "within the traumas of contemporary history, [our] ability to listen *through* the departures we have all taken from ourselves" (my emphasis, 11).

This idea is underscored by an uncanny moment of self-departure that Hamit experiences in the pavilion, and that again formulates a moment of translational reversal: Bachmann's lyric collection *Die gestundete Zeit* is marked throughout by a metaphoric sense of departure: the opening poem declares an existential "Ausfahrt" [Exit], with the image of a ship at sea; the second poem, "Abschied von England" [farewell to England] depicts the lyric I's farewell to a country she has never even set foot on. Within this collection, "Herbstmanöver" is thus notable for explicitly thematizing *departure* as a form of *escape* to an *identifiable location*. And yet Hamit translates it in a moment of limited mobility following the military coup. Rather than a form of escape, Hamit's metaphoric "Fluchtweg nach Süden" [Escape southward] entails an uncanny form of *self*-departure that leads him to feel a newfound sense of responsibility to the Ottoman pavilion.

During his first night alone in the pavilion, Hamit experiences a dream-like self-doubling in which he views the corpse of Abdülmecid in his own bed. Following this out-of-self-encounter, in which Hamit views himself as an absent figure of history, he infers with dismay that the figure of Abdülmecid has been brought to Istanbul to finally be interred in the garden of his summer residence. By filling in an emptied out place in human memory, he asserts that this would be commensurate with annihilating the pavilion as a great historic site (66). The Turkish verb used here is "yok etmek": which literally means to "make nothing," to erase or make insignificant the absence at the pavilion's core.

In translating Bachmann's imperative in *Die gestundete Zeit* to remember Austria and Germany's National Socialist past—Hamit thus comes to recognize the absence symbolized by the Ottoman pavilion as a defining feature of Turkish modernity. He does this following the 1960 Turkish military coup in a moment of exception, when once again time seems to have stood still. Like in *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft*, language in translation opens a space for new kinds of multidirectional memory formation. Hamit's translation of Bachmann—in which he listens to a trauma inflected German *through* a Turkish marked by the ruptures and absences of Turkish modernity—again reformulates the question of how postwar immigrants in Germany can remember and engage with a specifically German past they did not themselves experience and have no genealogical relationship to.

In this regard, I argue that *Köşk* goes beyond *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft*, both by doing away with genealogical models of kinship, and by taking the question both outside of Germany, and outside of the German language. Indeed, from its very inception, the Turkish language medium of *Köşk* challenges conceptions of which cultural productions do or do not belong in a properly speaking German sphere.

Considering the novel's focus on acts of translational reversal, I argue however that *Köşk* demands to be translated into German—an act that was realized in 2009 with the appearance of *Der Pavilion* on the German market. On a more general level, however,

translating this novel into German asks what it would mean to view the German language through processes of reversal and self-departure—concepts that undermine attempts to positively define a homogenous, monolingual German language community through recourse to an ethnocultural framework of belonging. In contrast to the forms of cultural orientation advocated by contemporary *Integrationspolitik* and by the concept of a guiding culture, acts of translation in *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft* and *Köşk* facilitate modes of multi-directional remembering that entail listening *through* languages and histories of trauma. This listening for the Other through the Self advocates instead for a pluralism inherent to the dominant culture that occurs first and foremost in the realm of language through a form of translation that brings *internal* difference to the fore.

CHAPTER FOUR

❧

Staging Translation

Published just two months before the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair, the German language edition of Sabahattin Ali's 1943 novel *Kürk Mantolu Madonna* [translated as *Die Madonna im Pelzmantel*] offers a timely theoretical reflection on the concept of translatability in the 20th and 21st centuries. Together with Turkey's presence in Frankfurt as Guest of Honor, translations such as this point to a burgeoning interest in Turkish literature on the global market, and, more specifically, an upswing of translations from Turkish into German in the 21st century.[98] What factors have contributed to this increased visibility of Turkish literature abroad? On one hand, diverse economic, political and cultural developments—such as a significant liberalization of foreign investment policy, Turkey's controversial bid for EU membership, the critical role Turkey is deemed to play in regional politics, dispute over the Islamification of Turkish society, and the increased popularity of Istanbul in particular as a tourist destination—have all placed Turkey in the international spotlight. Orhan Pamuk's winning of the Nobel Prize in 2006 can be said, in turn, to have placed Turkish *literature* on the global stage.

Translation initiatives in the 21st century have both benefited from, and contributed to this increased international interest in Turkish culture. In counterpoint to the World Literature in Translation series (1940-1966), the Republic of Turkey has dedicated significant funding to the dissemination of *Turkish* literature abroad in the 21st century: since its initiation in 2005, the government-funded TEDA program [Translation and Publication Grant Programme of Turkey] has provided subsidies for the translation of 1,755 works of Turkish literature into 64 languages. Private initiatives in Germany have further contributed to an increase in translations from Turkish into German. Funded by the Robert Bosch Foundation, *Die Türkische Bibliothek* [The Turkish Library] is a significant project in this regard; with 20 volumes of foundational, but previously untranslated works of 20th-century Turkish literature—including novels, poetry, short stories, and essays—it has significantly expanded the repertoire of Turkish literature available in German.

Sabahattin Ali's *İçimizdeki Şeytan* [1940, *The Devil within Us*] published through the *Türkische Bibliothek* as *Der Dämon in uns* (2007)—effectively introduced Ali to a German speaking audience and prepared the ground for the 2008 translation of *Madonna*. If, as I argue in Chapter Two, *Madonna* disrupts an early Republican investment in the smooth translatability of western European literary classics into the Turkish canon, the German translation of this novel reformulates the problem for a contemporary audience: to what extent is Turkish literature "translatable" on the global market?

Fifty-seven years after its original publication date, Raif's significance as an anti-translator in *Madonna* continues to address disparate hierarchies of cultural valuation with a

---

[98] For a detailed discussion of translational statistics, see the section entitled "Contemporary Translation Initiatives" in the Introduction to this dissertation.

pressing significance. Despite a noticeable increase in translation activity, Turkish literature remains seriously underrepresented on the global market. What works of literature make their way into the global canon and why? A novel such as *Madonna* suggests the need to consider different modes of translatability in the global era: how has a specific politics of translatability that remains subject to market demand emerged both in conjunction, and in contradistinction to a concept of cultural translation that seeks to uncover new modes of transcultural subjectivity?

Taking the German translation of *Madonna* as a point of opening to these larger questions, this chapter examines the politics of the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair together with Orhan Pamuk's 2002 novel *Kar* (Translated into English as *Snow,* and into German as *Schnee* in 2005). Whereas Ali stages a specific German Turkish relationship through the cities of Berlin and Ankara, this chapter considers the significance of Frankfurt and the book trade for a politics of translatability and a specific German Turkish translational relationship in the 21st century.

Performances of Translatability in Pamuk's *Kar*

In his opening speech for the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair, which hosted Turkey as its Guest of Honor, Orhan Pamuk recalled his first experience at the Fair nearly 20 years prior. While often met with praise, his work was not taken up by international publishing houses due to a "lack of interest" in Turkish culture abroad. This is the fate of an author being translated from a "remote" language, he argues: "[one's] most private imaginings and creative idiosyncrasies are taken as descriptions of an entire nation, even as representations of that nation." Such expectations permeate so deeply, as to affect one's sense of authorship: **"I** would forget that the starting point for my novels is not, in my view, Turkey, but my own troubles, my own interests, and the strangeness I see in the world" ("Opening Speech").

Pamuk's 2002 novel *Kar* contains an ironic staging of this very predicament. In the center of the novel, a leftist theater troupe performs the once revolutionary play of the 1930s, *Vatan Yahut Çarşaf* [*Fatherland or Veil*] in the northeastern city of Kars. In this brief play, a woman proclaims her independence by discarding her black scarf, an act objected to by both family and several bearded men; the woman then retorts by lighting her scarf on fire; just as her opposers turn violent, young soldiers of the Republic appear to save her.

In Pamuk's tragicomic version, the simplicity of this play's allegorical message becomes muddled with confusion. In place of a pure-hearted village girl, the lewd belly dancer, Funda Eser, emerges from under the scarf. Due to a poorly selected stage prop, it then appears as if this woman is merely laundering her scarf rather than dousing it in gasoline. Islamists and secularists alike are thus shocked as the scarf goes up in flames, following which a riotous commotion renders the woman's poetic declaration of her independence completely inaudible.

Replete with caricatured Islamic fanatics, Pamuk's rendition of this play clearly problematizes the patriotism of 1930s Kemalist discourse, and the tendency of early Republican literature to put itself in the service of the state through allegorical portrayals of the modernization project. Yet the comic confusion in the Kars National Theater also gives way to a deadly irony, as the actors/soldiers who arrive to rescue Funda Eser's character fire three live volleys into the audience. In an extended scene, in which the audience remains paralyzed by shock, Pamuk reveals the horror of the situation in a form of narrative slow motion that follows every bullet from its weapon to target.

In this chapter, I ask how Pamuk's tragicomic staging of allegory in the provincial, northeastern town of Kars, relates to the problematics of Turkey's self-representation on the world-literary stage of the Frankfurt Book Fair. Within the novel, this theatrical coup—which leads to the actual arrest and torture of the city's resident Kurds, secular leftists and Islamist youth over the following three days—is designed to prevent the victory of the Islamist Welfare Party in upcoming local elections. Beyond its parodic representation of Turkish history—which is also marked by a series of secularist military coups—the quasi-theatrical coup in *Kar* demonstrates a certain *compulsion* to allegorize, or what Sibel Irzık describes as the "obsessive return of a theatricality that robs characters of "authentic" lives" (Irzık 562).[99]

---

[99] Irzık traces the crippling force of allegorical representations in the literature of Adalet Ağaolgu, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, Oğuz Atay, and Orhan Pamuk; in doing so she problematizes Frederic Jameson's idealization

Kar brings this problematic staging of national allegory into contact with Frankfurt through the character of Ka, who—having returned to Turkey after twelve years of political exile in Germany—alleges to have a contact at the liberal German newspaper, the *Frankfurter Rundschau.* With the goal of drafting an "Announcement to the people of Europe about the Events in Kars"—meant to give this provincial city a place in world history—an unlikely group of Islamists, Kurds, leftist revolutionaries, and the granny of a missing youth gather in the local Hotel Asia. The resulting manifesto, which begins as a statement to Europe, then to the West, and finally to all humanity—is filtered through the mutual hope of having it published in a "big German newspaper."

The absurdity of this meeting at the Hotel Asia is thus transformed into a larger problem of self-representation on a world-political stage. Within this scene, and indeed within the novel at large, the "West" and Europe—but also Germany in particular—become symbolic spaces for the "reconfigur[ation of] domestic political questions that are otherwise unstageable in the Turkish context" (Gramling, "Thigmotactics" 389).

Diverse media coverage in 2008 also figured the Frankfurt Book Fair as a similar—implicitly western—stage upon which Turkey could discuss otherwise taboo issues, such as genocide, Turkishness, literary rights, piracy, and censorship. Fair director Jürgen Boos explicitly addressed such expectations in his depiction of the Fair as a liberal platform (*liberale Plattform*) for open and critical dialogue (*einen offenen und kritischen Dialog*) ("Türkei in vielen Farben").

In my discussion of *Kar* in relation to the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair, I ask more specifically what symbolic role Pamuk as author played on this platform. With approximately 7,000,000 copies sold worldwide, Pamuk's literature has been translated into more than 50 languages; as the recipient of numerous prizes, including the 2005 Peace Prize of the German Book Trade and the 2006 Nobel Prize in Literature, his work has received international critical acclaim, and been heralded for its cosmopolitan and world literary quality.

Amongst the highly diverse 205 Turkish authors invited to Frankfurt, Pamuk thus stands out as having achieved a uniquely representative status for Turkish literature worldwide. Pamuk's opening speech, together with his novel *Kar,* reflect on this position by raising the more pressing question of what and how Turkish authors are *expected* to perform in order to gain international recognition. In linking a (reluctant) compulsion to allegorize to the anxieties of presenting oneself on the world stage, they reveal and reflect on the process of being pigeonholed into representing "Turkishness" to an international audience. As a novel such as *Kar* attests—this pressure proves to be not only limiting, but also inescapable; indeed, the problem of self-recognition within an East/West polemic has constituted a major subject of Pamuk's fiction from the publication of *Beyaz Kale* [*The White Castle*, 1985] to the present.

These are issues that were also clearly addressed by the 2008 Turkish organizing committee, which consisted of sixteen literary organizations[100] all-too-familiar with the ossified, orientalist stereotypes of Turkish culture they were up against. The Fair theme and logo—Turkey in all Its Colors—sought to both foreground the diverse *literary* (*edebi*) merits of Turkish literature over the political pressures of censorship, and to emphasize the inherent

---

of the "third world novel" and his assumption of the healthy lack of a split between the private and the public realms.

[100] These organizations included: PEN Yazarlar Derneği, Yazarlar Sendikası, Edebiyatçılar Derneği, Yazarlar Birliği, BESAM, EDİSAM, İLESAM, Yayıncılar Birliği, Basın Yayın Birliği, Çocuk ve İlkgençlik Kültürü ve Edebiyatı Araştırmacıları Derneği and Çocuk ve Gençlik Yayınları Derneği.

heterogeneity of a "Turkish" literary tradition, with—among others—Iranian, Arabic, Armenian, Greek, French, and German elements and influences.

Through the presentation of an imagined Europe negotiated through a specific German Turkish relationship, and the refusal to comply with ossified images of Turkey in the European imaginary, I argue that both Pamuk's *Kar* and the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair critically reflect on the "translatability" of Turkish literature in the global market, raising questions such as: Through which means does a specific text or culture "achieve" translatability? To what extent does the desire to be translated determine narrative content? And in what ways do canons produced via translation skew and limit the image of a nation's literature abroad?

These questions are naturally compounded by the status of Turkish as a minor language, and a general understanding of translation into English or a major European language such as German as a sign of validation on the world literary stage. With reference to this assumption, I argue that Pamuk both performs and parodies the global "translatability" of *Kar*—writ large as a symbol of its validity—vis-à-vis a specific German Turkish relationship. In placing a distinct emphasis on the art of staging, I show how *Kar* highlights the performative nature of translation as an act or process, rather than an end product. Without denying the textual presence of finished translations—or the need for an increased number of translations from Turkish literature on the global market—this concept of translation as performance underscores the impossibility of one complete, definitive translation, indicating in turn a multiplicity inherent to any "original" representation of Turkishness. In turn, I read the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair as a stage on which the tensions between in/visibility and un/translatability that play out in the Kars National Theater of Pamuk's *Kar* are both recognized and negotiated for the 21st century.

A SWEDISH PRECURSOR

Orhan Pamuk's winning of the Nobel Prize—announced on 12 October 2006—incidentally also marks the beginning of Turkey's two-year preparation period for the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair. As the most prestigious and monetarily substantial honor in the realm of literature, this award—bestowed for the first time to a Turkish author—stands as an important precursor to Turkey's presence on the literary market in Frankfurt. At first glance these two international platforms seem to be at odds with one another: whereas the Nobel Prize holds fast to a universalist conception of literary-aesthetic ideals, Frankfurt constitutes the largest marketplace for publishers worldwide; and while the Nobel Prize upholds a distinction between literature and politics, the Fair positions itself as a critical site for cultural-political discussion. The politics of the Nobel Prize are nevertheless central to the power dynamics of the marketplace, and the estimation of an author's relative potential with regard to his or her international translatability.

As stipulated by Alfred Nobel in his will, the Nobel Prize for Literature is awarded yearly to "the person who has produced in the field of literature the most outstanding work in an ideal direction" (Nobelprize). This insistence on idealism has led to a specifically liberal humanist selection criteria built on the separation of art from politics and an investment in universalist standards. From its earliest instantiation, the prize emphasized political neutrality as a counterweight to the rise of nationalist tendencies preceding WWI; in the interwar years,

the Swedish Academy continued to reward authors whose literature was seen as incompatible with cultural nationalism (Casanova 149-150).

In her assessment of a competitive World Republic of Letters, Pascale Casanova describes this prize as "the greatest proof of literary consecration" (147), and a means of ascending to world literary space, or an autonomous position not determined by political obligations. Indeed, in many ways the Nobel Prize represents a Swedish-centered instantiation of the kind of center-periphery world system upheld by Casanova, for which Paris stands as the Greenwich Meridian of literary modernity. In the estimation of Sarah Brouillette, this prize "enshrines Europe as the locus of cultural consecration" (Literature is Liberalism), with a predominantly white, European, male Swedish Academy establishing the criteria for international literary merit.

The role the Nobel Prize plays in enhancing the visibility of minor literatures has become especially pronounced over the past two decades. While the prize sought early on to establish an international standard of universality,[101] the need to revise its European-centered definition of literary merit was met with strong resistance. More recently, geography and regional distribution have become increasingly important criteria, with a number of prizes conferred to authors from "first time" countries: Portugal (José Saramago, 1998), China (Gao Xingjian, 2000), Trinidad (V. S. Naipaul, 2001), Hungary (Imre Kertész, 2002), Austria (Elfriede Jelinek, 2005), Turkey (Orhan Pamuk, 2006), and Peru (Mario Vargas Llosa, 2010).

One the one hand, a Nobel Prize inevitably catapults an author from a minor literature into the international limelight. On the other hand, the kind of international visibility afforded by the prize rests to some extent on an author's already established universal acclaim. With accessibility to the broadest possible audience as one central aspect of the selection criteria, authors who either choose to write in, or whose major works have already been translated into English have the best chance at winning.

Finally, despite the Academy's continued emphasis on the value of apolitical literary commentary, they have also tended to select authors with liberal political views in recent years. Jeffrey Meyers thus describes Orhan Pamuk as having touched "all the right bases:" 1) he is widely translated and has a significant international audience 2) he is a Muslim from a geopolitically important country that had not yet earned a Nobel Prize, and 3) he was quick to denounce the fatwa against Salman Rushdie, has spoken out on controversial issues such as the Armenian Genocide and freedom of the press, and continues to oppose government repression in Turkey (222).

Pamuk's winning of the Nobel Prize marked the apex of what Nergis Ertürk describes as the limits of contemporary critical discourse on world literature. He received this highest honor in the literary world shortly after being charged with the "public denigration of Turkish identity" under Article 301 of the Turkish penal code. The reception of *Kar* prefigures this contradictory position Pamuk has come to play on the "glocal" market: "Snow is disowned by its own national public, even as it is embraced, by the "worldly" critic on the global scene, as a national-realist allegory" ("Outside" 634-635). As such, *Kar* indicates a problem with the center-periphery logic of Pascale Casanova's *World Republic of Letters*:

---

[101] The first non-European prize winner was awarded as early as 1913 to the Bengali author Rabindranath Tagore. Awarded "because of his profoundly sensitive, fresh and beautiful verse, by which, with consummate skill, he has made his poetic thought, expressed in his own English words, a part of the literature of the West." The prize announcement nevertheless underscored that Tagore was worthy of a Nobel Prize precisely because his work was in some way inherently "western" (All Nobel Prizes).

while the author of a "peripheral" language can only enter this realm once his work has achieved a certain level of universality, entrance itself all-too-often predetermines his status as representative of the national literature he purportedly expresses, regardless of how his literature has been received within this national realm.

In Casanova's account, "entrance" into the World Republic of Letters occurs via a process of translation as *litterasation*. As a means of consecration in the literary world, translation into English or a major European language ensures one's passage from literary inexistence to existence, from invisibility to visibility (133-135). In contrast to this model of translational validation, however, *Kar* exemplifies a *problem* of translatability; by revealing the dynamics of cultural commodification inherent to translation politics on a global market, it also deems the idealist standards of universality upheld by the Nobel Prize an impossibility.

As such, *Kar* exposes its use of allegorical realism as a trope that caters to transnational literary audiences seeking an "inside view" on Turkey. Timothy Brennon has argued in similar terms that "a prominence of politics in Third-World fiction—or rather, our own tendentious projection of politics onto a mythical "Third World"...is exactly what Western critics find attractive" (38). Building on the work of Brennon, Ertürk in turn reads the international consumption of Pamuk's literature as indicative of Turkey's central role in the fantasy of a reconciled "East" and "West," reconfigured as the reconciliation of "Islam" with "democracy" in Euro-Atlantic discourse ("Outside" 635). In the following section I show more specifically how *Kar* both recognizes, parodies, and thus disrupts such expectations by performing its own un/translatability.

IN/VISIBILITY

With consideration of how a mass cultural object comes into being, the 2001 special series of *Public Culture,* "Translation in a Global Market," addressed key issues regarding the emergence of an internationalized aesthetics: Faced with the pressures of a global market, to what extent do artists build a form of translatability directly into their work? In what ways do the pressures of the global market lead to forms of cultural commodification and a visibly limited canon of widely read "transnational authors"? (Apter 1-2).

Writing for *The New York Review of Books* in 2010, Tim Parks suggests that the demand for translatability has led to a "new dull global novel." As success is increasingly measured on the depth of one's international audience, Parks notes a tendency on the part of authors to free their work of obstacles to international comprehension. As a result, authors increasingly take recourse to a simplified language that avoids linguistic subtleties, culturally specific information, idiomatic puns, or character names difficult for foreign readers to pronounce. In Parks' estimation, Pamuk's fiction is exemplary of this genre, which "utilizes highly visible tropes immediately recognizable as "literary" and "imaginative"... and the foregrounding of a [liberal] political sensibility" ("Global Novel").

While I disagree with Parks' reading of Pamuk as dull, I want to focus for the moment on the larger implications of his argument for the question of translation. Sevinç Türkkan, for example, argues that the city of Istanbul, as both an image and a literary trope, "achieves" such translatability in Pamuk's fiction: it serves as a connection to the modernist fiction of James Joyce and Charles Baudelaire, for which Dublin and Paris were central, respectively; at the same time, it exemplifies Pamuk's role as a novelist who makes the city "readable" for a globalized, western culture (169). Indeed, the Nobel Prize emphasized

Pamuk's literary cityscape in particular as a hallmark of his fiction, describing him as an author: "who in the quest for the melancholic soul of his native city has discovered new symbols for the clash and interlacing of culture" (Nobel Prize 2006).

In this regard, *Kar* is a notable work of fiction in that it details a German Turkish relationship via the cities of Frankfurt and Kars. In the seeming absence of Istanbul, what makes this novel "translatable"? Within *Kar*, Pamuk both exaggerates an East/West, center-periphery distinction by placing the financial capital of Germany into contact with a north-eastern "provincial" (*taşralı*) Turkish border town, and refigures these axes within Turkey with Istanbul as a distant center against which Kars' backwardness is defined. For Ka, Kars is furthermore a city that encapsulates the past. After twelve years of political exile, he returns to find life in Istanbul fundamentally altered; through his travels eastward, Ka hopes to find remnants of the Turkey he recalls from his childhood.

It is along these reproduced and reconfigured axes of center/periphery, East/West, and past/present that a paradigm of un/translatability emerges in *Kar* through the central metaphors of the headscarf and the magical but relentless snow that blankets the city throughout Ka's stay in Kars. Caught between the competing ideologies of Islamism and secularism, each of these images function as floating signifiers that exhibit the close relationship between the paradigms of un/translatability and in/visibility on both the local and the global stages. In contrast to Parks' depiction of a dull, global novel, I argue that *Kar* deftly exhibits the global pressures it is up against to *forgo* culturally specific information, by problematizing the very question of cultural specificity and the modes via which Pamuk is expected to make it visible.

Ka travels to the border city of Kars on the pretense of investigating a suicide epidemic amongst headscarf–wearing girls for the liberal, Istanbul-based newspaper *Cumhuriyet*. Over the course of several interviews, Ka learns how several girls' silent resistance to the insufferable violence they experienced on a daily basis had turned in a political statement: barred from studying at the local institute of education due to secular educational policies, the young Teslime chooses to take her life rather than bare her head. The manner in which she commits suicide—by fashioning a noose with her headscarf and a lamp hook—reveals the subversive aim of her decision. Caught between two ideological doxas—which tell her to bare her head in the name of secular freedom, or to cover it in the name of religious obligation—Teslime brandishes the cloth of her scarf for a completely different, personal purpose. At the same time, Teslime's suicide signals not only a release from, but also an affirmation of the patriarchal assumptions at the core of each ideological camp; it signals her own resignation that she cannot escape the political instrumentalization of her own body (Clemens 143-144).

While addressed to the headscarf girls, the play staged in *Kar*, *Fatherland or Veil*, signals a clearly outdated attempt to address the complexity of their situations: in this play, a conception of feminine liberation adheres to the binary tenants of Kemalist modernity, within which uncovering is read as sign of progressiveness. As the heroine Kadife makes clear, in contemporary Turkey one's decision to *wear* a headscarf has become a stronger symbol of defiance and political resistance than the act of taking one off. Banners lining the streets of Kars—which state that suicide is blasphemy—further highlight an ironic moment in which the seemingly oppositional ideologies of Islamism and Secularism *merge* in their attempts to dissuade these girls from taking their lives.

The Turkish national battle over the ideological meanings of the headscarf as depicted in *Kar* also has important international dimensions. In the article "(In)formal Institutions"

Levent Soysal describes how the headscarf has become central to the interpolation of immigrant women in Europe as "categorical Muslims"; within this logic, women who do not wear a headscarf are considered secular and westernized, whereas the decision to cover one's head is read as a symbol of patriarchal oppression and womens' invisibility in the Islamic tradition (215). If the discourse of unveiling purports to render these women *visible*—it also exposes a certain desire to both know and delineate the Muslim female body underneath the veil as a site of objective truth (Heidenreich 211).

The second and final play in *Kar*—in which the heroine Kadife bares her head to a packed house at the National Theater and a live television audience—begs the question of what narrative logic the text makes visible at this crucial moment. Yet the complexity of the situation refuses to render Kadife's body or scarf as sites of patriarchal oppression *or* objective truth: as the daughter of a formerly imprisoned leftist who opposes her decision to wear a headscarf, Kadife makes an informed decision to veil herself of her own accord. At the same time, her charismatic public demeanor, unbridled self-confidence, and illicit relations with the Islamist Lacivert undermine an understanding of her headscarf as a sign of patriarchy, female invisibility *or* religious piety.

Within the play *A Tragedy in Kars*, the leftist director Sunay Zaim—who was also behind the theatrical coup—attempts to utilize Kadife as a pawn in his larger plot to demonstrate the values of secularism. Kadife agrees to publicly unveil her hair in order to ensure the release of Lacivert from a state prison. With the headscarf debate caught again between two ideological sides, Kadife takes matters into her own hands. Upon learning that Lacivert has been killed by the state, she does not forgoe her decision, but rather bears her head and then shoots Sunay Zaim on stage.

In response to the first "unveiling" of the novel—in which the lewd Funda Eser emerged from under a black scarf on stage—Kadife's actions also offer an ironic take on Pamuk's assumed position as a cultural ambassador, who is expected to uncover an authentic view of Turkey for an international readership. On one hand, Kadife could be said to wield political power by laying bare the terms of her own visibility. At the same time, Kadife's murder of Sunay is figured here as an *impossible* improvisation within an elaborately pre-staged theatrical event. By killing Sunay with his own gun—the magazine of which he has just emptied in front of a live audience—Kadife could also be described as the unsuspecting victim of an optical illusion. Complicating matters further is a newspaper article Sunay dictates one day before the performance, in which he foretells the terms of his own death.

Sunay's self-composed description is in line with the local newspaper's custom of writing the news in advance. As such, it forms an important counterpart to an earlier article written by the newspaper owner, that reports on Ka's reading of his latest poem, "Snow" at the National Theater on the night of the theatrical coup (29). When, upon receiving a copy of the newspaper in advance, Ka responds that he does not plan to attend the theater, and does not have a poem entitled "Snow," Serdar retorts that predicting the news is what "modern journalism" is all about. With the title of this foretold poem, Pamuk also offers a biting commentary on the "modern" forces that predetermine his own novelistic material. At the same time, he raises the question of how *Kar* performs for its readership, how it both stages the events of its narration and is staged by its potential audience.

PARODIES OF UN/TRANSLATABILITY

Diverse scholars have noted the importance of staging within Pamuk's *Kar:* Mary Jo Kietzman, for example, argues for both the structural and stylistically important role drama plays within the narrative. By utilizing the dramatic device of direct address and highlighting the performative aspect of characters' off-stage conversations, she argues, "Pamuk takes an active stance in relation to his readers, challenging us to engage with the fictional world and to imagine a reality that can never be effectively represented" (324).

Sibel Erol further conceptualizes the novel's entire narrative space as a stage, on which one-sided characters act out their roles for the reader. The novel nevertheless creates dramatic irony in the tension between these characters' circumscribed views of themselves and their surroundings, and the hyper-intertextuality within which their actions are inscribed. Erol shows how Pamuk brings this discrepancy to bear in particular on the East/West problematic developed within the novel:

> Although the characters define East and West as mutually exclusive and irreconcilable terms that cannot co-exist, Pamuk belies precisely this in the intertextual background that draws equally on Eastern and Western sources. The striking contrast between the foreground, where univocal characters act out a one-dimensional plot, and the multi-dimensional, polyvalent background brings pressure to bear on the developments of the plot, undercutting, destabilizing and overturning its givens. The discrepancy between the overwhelming interconnectedness between the East and the West in the intertextual fabric of the narrative, and the anxious separation of them in the plot which politicizes that very separation, not only allows, but requires the reader to interpret the novel as a parody. (412)

In the following I argue that this key tension identified by Erol is also central to the problematics of translatability in *Kar*. Rather than the bearer of an authentic Turkish voice— the narrative of *Kar* is marked through and through by the heightened intertextuality of Pamuk's signature style. To name only a few examples: The initial play staged in Kars, *Vatan yahut Türban* [*Fatherland or Veil*], could be read as an ironic reversal of Namık Kemal's *Vatan yahut Silestre* [1872, Fatherland or Silistra]*,* the first popular piece of Turkish theatre.[102] Similarly, the final play of the novel, *Kars'ta Trajedi* [*Tragedy in Kars*], is a rewrite of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*. The dense, magical snowfall that accompanies Ka to Kars recalls Hans Castorp's ascent to the *Zauberberg*; the snowflake upon which Ka charts out the poems he writes in Kars makes reference to Francis Bacon's Tree of Knowledge; and the main character, Ka, bears a phonetic and emblematic resemblance to the protagonist of Kafka's *Das Schloss* [*The Castle*], K. Pamuk's own novels also make an appearance within the intertextual references of *Kar*. The title of *Yeni Hayat* [*The New Life*] finds an echo in the New Life pastry shop where the director of the institute of education is assassinated; and the narrator, Orhan, makes reference to his/Pamuk's 1990

---

[102] Erol elucidates this reversal as follows: Zekiye dresses up as a man in order to gain the 'equal opportunity' to die for her fatherland... Sunay's play in Pamuk's novel borrows from Kemal's work not only the mandate to serve the fatherland and to turn thought into action, but also the focus on a female protagonist's clothes as the basis for defining her identity. While Kemal's Zekiye hides her femininity behind men's clothing, the protagonist of Sunay's play, in an ironic reversal, is made to take her headscarf off and show her femininity in order to claim her modern identity as an unveiled woman" (416).

novel *Kara Kitap* [*The Black Book*], and his then forthcoming novel *Masumiyet Müzesi* [2008, *The Museum of Innocence*].

In the same way that Sevinç Türkkan reads Istanbul as a trope that aligns Pamuk's fiction with other great modernist authors, the hyper-intertextuality of *Kar* is also arguably its most "translatable" feature. My argument here builds on Alistair Rolls' description of translatability as "a function of... a work's textuality, that tendency of the text to extend, intentionally, beyond its own physical boundaries, but which remains nonetheless an inherent property of the text, its necessary situatedness" (190). If translation can be described by way of its Latin etymology as a bearing across, or a literal movement from one text to another, he argues, a text's translatability serves as an opening out to this movement. Translatability "is shown not so much to be an essential quality that promotes translation, setting in train a process of textual mobilization, but rather the product of a problematic originality, of a text whose translation is always already mobilized" (191).

In flaunting its own hypertextuality, the text also disrupts a paradigm of translatability as marketability that assumes Turkish culture as a known object of analysis. Following Erol's treatment of the novel as a parody of its own characters' univocality, I read the intertextuality of *Kar* as a parody of the global demand for a form of translatability that is predicated on a Euro-Atlantic desire for an authentic Turkish narrative voice.

The intertextuality of *Kar* is replicated on a microcosmic level through the multivalent metaphor of snow. As the central floating signifier in Pamuk's novel of the same name, snow can thus be read as one potential response to the question of what internal narrative logic is uncovered at the crucial moment when Kadife bares her head. Marked by questions of interference, accessibility, and visibility, it attests not to a single narrative logic, but rather to a problem of translatability within the novel.

As the title poem of the collection Ka writes in Kars, "Snow" is recorded in a green notebook that serves as the inspiration for Orhan, Ka's childhood friend, to write a novel of the same name. Yet Orhan never locates this notebook, and "Snow" remains unknown to him. Without revealing its content to the reader, Ka performs "Snow" twice within the space of the novel—once in a private reading for İpek, and once at the National Theater in a live television broadcast. Orhan gains access to a tape of this public performance, only to find Ka's speech inaudible, muddled by the sounds of a discontented audience. *Kar* the novel thus represents Orhan's search for a poem of the same name that is doubly recorded—in both writing and on tape—but nevertheless lost and incomprehensible to its potential readerships.

This doubling of "Snow" as *Snow* signals on one hand a certain incomprehensibility of the novel at large. Whereas "Snow" is a poem that can only be performed, *Snow* as a novel performs this untranslatability. Through Orhan's unsuccessful search for this particular poem and the collection at large, and the resulting impossibility of uncovering its meaning, I argue that *Kar* disrupts and parodies its own "translatability" on the global market. This is not to say that *Kar* is untranslatable or resists translation per se, but rather that it critically reflects on the forms of translatability Turkish literature is up against, as 1) the universalist desire to collapse cultural and linguistic difference in the name of a translatable, homogenized global literature, and 2) the fantasy of an authentic "Turkish" voice representative of cultural specificity as that which sells in translation. In the following, I argue that Pamuk develops an alternative understanding of translatability through the divergent meanings of snow within the novel.

A snowy, stormy, two-day journey brings Ka to Kars. As a substance that blocks the roads and cuts Kars off from the rest of the nation, snow attests to a debilitating isolation that

enables the success of Sunay Zaim's theatrical coup. Its relentless covering of the city thus has deadly implications that not only render Kars invisible, but also reflect on the terms of the novel's visibility both within Turkey and abroad.

Snow is at the same time an almost magical substance—"the endless repetition of an ordinary miracle" (299)—and a mysterious source of poetic inspiration. According to the narrator, Orhan, Ka did not view himself as the author of the poems he wrote in Kars, but rather as a medium or amanuensis (277). Orhan's depiction of Ka in Frankfurt, where he labored to uncover a hidden logic or structure to the poems he had received as if in a vision, borders on the mystical:

> Derin ve esrarlı bir düzeni olduğunu sezmiş, Frankfurt'taki dört yılını kitabın "eksik- lerini" tamamlayarak geçirmişti. Çile gerektiren yıpratıcı bir çabaydı bu. Çünkü Kars'ta sanki birisi kulağına fısıldayıveriyormuş gibi kolaylıkla gelen mısraları Frankfurt'ta hiç duyamıyordu Ka. (257)

> [He had spent his last four years in Frankfurt filling in the blanks in this hidden design. For this grueling purpose, he'd had to withdraw from the world, abstaining from its pleasures like a dervish. In Kars he had felt like a medium, as if someone were whispering the   poems   into his ear; back in Frankfurt he could hardly hear them at all.] (257)[103]

In his attempt to uncover the meaning of his own poetry, Ka locates the poems themselves along the three axes of a snowflake (see Figure 2 below), which he labels as imagination (*hayal*), memory (*hafıza*), and reason (*mantık*):

Figure 2: Snowflake Image
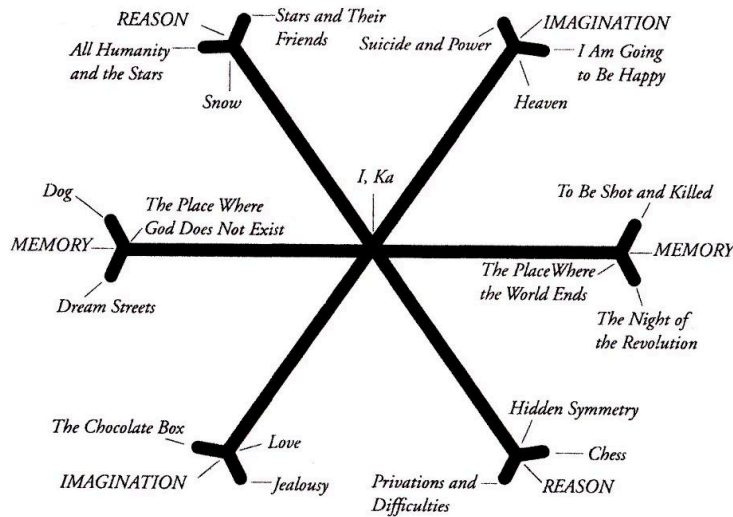
(Pamuk, *Snow* 261)

---

[103] I cite here from Maureen Freely's translation. Note that the phrase "like a dervish" does not appear in the Turkish.

Inspired by Francis Bacon's Tree of Knowledge, along which the main branches are Memory (History), Reason (Philosophy) and Imagination (Poetry), these axes offer a clear reference to Enlightenment philosophy. Erdağ Göknar describes the snowflake as such in reference to the project of Turkish Republican modernity, which espoused Enlightenment ideals in its construction of a *homo secularis*. As a site of reason and faith, the material and the mystical, religion (*din*) and state (*devlet*), snow—in its collective and individual forms—thus exposes the tensions of the novel itself (196-197).

Whereas Ka attempts to translate the language of his semi-mystical poetry into Enlightenment terms—at the center of which he locates himself as author/medium—the novel *Kar* could be said to translate the contradictory nature of this endeavor. This idea is supported by the simultaneously explicit and ambiguous mapping function of the snowflake, which is replicated at the close of the novel with two charts that detail 1) the narrative order in which Ka writes his poems, replete with references to chapters and page numbers, and 2) the poems according to their location along the axes of the snowflake. These charts—as forms of explication that also chart the development of the novel—attest to the fact that translation as a form of one to one mapping is not possible.

In his groundbreaking essay "Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers" [1923, "The Task of the Translator"], Walter Benjamin describes translation as an act that does not cover its original, but is rather "transparent" (*durchscheinend*), allowing the words of the original to shine through. Ka's poems and Pamuk's novel enter into a similar relationship, in that they are not simply interchangeable doubles, but develop through one another. Yet while the absent poems signal on one hand what Benjamin terms "der wesenhafte Kern" (85)—or the aesthetic core of a text that is in turn untranslatable—the metaphor of snow also interrogates the very terms of transparency. What are the terms of this untranslatability and what exactly is allowed to *shine through* in translation?

Ka's collection of poems could be read as untranslatable in the sense that it points to its own indeterminacy of meaning; the novel *Kar* stages this indeterminacy through its theatricality and hyper-intertextuality, and the diffuse metaphoricity of the headscarf and snow. In this sense, the novel could be read as an imperfect translation of Ka's poems, or a translation that refuses to render the content of the poems knowable. As such, it performs a certain disruptive quality of translation described by Judith Butler as*,* "an opening to the unfamiliar, a dispossession from prior ground, and even a willingness to cede ground to what it not immediately knowable within established epistemological fields" (*Parting Ways* 12).

The absent poems at the center of *Kar* are not simply inaccessible; they constitute rather a point of narrative disruption in that they fail to represent something authentic or essential. As such, they formulate one response to the pressure on Pamuk to provide an inside view of Turkish culture to his international audiences. While this pressure is performed and parodied within *Kar* on multiple levels, it is perhaps most poignantly expressed in the statement drafted for the *Frankfurter Rundschau* in the Hotel Asia. Before turning to this statement in the conclusion of this chapter—and its portrayal of Frankfurt as an imagined stage within *Kar*—I consider the role of Frankfurt as a very *real* stage upon which Turkey presented its book culture at the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair.

SECTION TWO

~

Turkey in the Eye of Europe:
The 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair

In her exploration of the intersections between performance, cultural identities and cultural power in the UK, Jen Harvie examines artistic practices as materially enacted in, constituted by, and constituting networks of social relations (5). Reconfiguring the metaphor of "imagined communities" as "staged identities," Harvie notes Benedict Anderson's emphasis on the "lived, social effects of national change," which find their expression in the everyday practice of cultural activities such as reading newspapers, shopping or going to the theater (4). In order to reveal what she terms the "dynamic articulation of national identities" (6), Harvie examines a variety of performance related practices—from theatrical stagings to cultural festivals—as instantiations of multiple UK identities that are "mutually contingent, and mutually embedded – simultaneously holding in tension multiple determinants, from affinities with locale, region, and nation to affinities with Europe, global subjectivity, and diasporic communities" (7).

Whereas Harvie examines the staging of UK culture(s) at home, the section of this chapter reads the Frankfurt Book Fair as a site on which national identities are staged and performed for a global audience. On one hand the Fair provides the specific site of Frankfurt; this locale nevertheless gestures beyond itself to the global word of commerce via its status as the finance capital of Germany. As the world's largest marketplace for publishers, the Book Fair partakes in and helps to produce this global image of Frankfurt. At the same time, the Fair's annual country-specific theme reiterates the draw and staying power of national categories of analysis. In inviting a different country each year, the Fair thus provides a site specific, but *global* stage upon which lesser known literatures present, and I argue thus also perform their *national* book culture.

In examining the events of the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair special program, Turkey in All Its Colors, I consider the problematics of Turkey's self-representation on the world-literary stage in relation to the questions of translatability addressed in Pamuk's *Kar*. In conclusion, I return to the notion of connectivity with which I opened this dissertation, and the significance of Frankfurt as a site upon which a German Turkish translational relationship is negotiated for the 21st century.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR

Situated at the crossroads of two important trading routes—from Basel to Amsterdam, and from Paris to Leipzig—and in close proximity to the Rhine and Main rivers, Frankfurt had developed into a city of commerce by the early 12th century. This favorable geographic location, together with its proximity to the birthplace of the printing press, were key factors in the development of Frankfurt's book market. By 1462 at the latest, Frankfurt had become host to one of the most influential printers' and publishers' fairs in Europe. From 1470-1764, Frankfurt maintained its status as a prominent center of the European book trade, and a "literary mecca" for both German and international publishers (Weidhaas 15).

Due to cultural-political developments, the status of Frankfurt's fair was eventually eclipsed by Leipzig's in the 18th century; while Frankfurt struggled to reestablish itself in the late 19th century and again following World War I, these efforts achieved only minimal success. It was not until 1949, amidst massive economic reconstruction following WWII, that Frankfurt was able to revive its status in the book trade through a modest fair that opened in the historic *Paulskirche* on the 17th of September. While all 205 exhibitors were German, the 1949 fair coincided with a week-long book exhibition planned by the High Comission of Germany for the Republic of France, and a two-week exhibition of Swiss book dealers, lending the event a decidedly international feel. By 1952, the Fair represented publishers from eight different countries, and by 1957 this number had expanded to twenty-one (Weidhaas 151), attesting to a successful revitalization of the Fair in the post-war period. Today, the Frankfurt Book Fair attracts approximately 7,300 exhibitors from more than 100 countries; with over 275,000 visitors, it has become the biggest trade event in the international publishing industry.

I offer this introductory information for two reasons: 1) to underscore the historical importance of Frankfurt as a site on which world literary relations are staged and 2) to emphasize the significance of Leipzig's rivalry in determining the cultural political program of the Frankfurt Book Fair in the postwar years. While the postwar Frankfurt Book Fair took Leipzig as a model, long-time director Peter Weidhaas also attributes Frankfurt's relative success over Leipzig to its ultimate prioritization of commerce over cultural ideals.

Despite a distinct international flair from the outset, the Frankfurt Book Fair was a relatively intimate event in its initial postwar reincarnation. Due in part to an initial lack of funds, and in part to the limited space of the *Paulskirche,* the Fair began with a unique family feeling—replete with shared lists of participants, and a card index of registered visitors—that it maintained for almost two decades. Through the goals of expansion and increased economic profit, however, this aspect of the Fair inevitably began to dissipate. By the mid-1960s, in the words of Weidhaas, "the Fair had grown beyond all imagination and the luxury of extended browsing or discussion was virtually non-existent (180). Journalistic coverage from this time period also began to express a tension between the Fair's economic goals and cultural ideals. In 1964, one particularly pointed article in *Die Zeit* described the fairgrounds as having a "circus-like atmosphere" (qtd in Weidhaas 178), and in the following years the Fair was increasingly accused of having lowered its literary standards in favor of increased commercialization.

In the face of such accusations, the cultural-political program of the Fair took on an increased symbolic importance. The long-standing *Friedenspreis des Deutschen Buchhandels* [Peace Prize of the German Book Trade] is one central facet of this program. Founded in 1950 on a private initiative, the first Peace Prize was awarded to Max Tau with the goal of "lift[ing] Germany out of its cultural isolation and ... reintroduc[ing] humanist thought into society" ("Friedenspreis"). The clear success of this event—which occurred in a private residence in Hamburg, but was broadcast internationally—led the *Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels* [German Publishers and Booksellers Association] to assume responsibility for the prize in 1951. It has since been awarded yearly in the *Paulskirche* during the Frankfurt Book Fair. To date, two Turkish authors have won the prize: Yaşar Kemal in 1997 and Orhan Pamuk in 2005.

As the ever-increasing number of Fair exhibitors and visitors outgrew the limited space of this church and relocated to the official fairgrounds, the *Paulskirche* has continued to provide a historically important venue for cultural events such as the *Friedenspreis.*

Founded in the same year as the French Revolution, this church housed the first freely elected German legislative body that also drew up the first constitution for a unified Germany in 1848. As such, the *Paulskirche* is symbolic of the Fair's self-conception as a neutral platform for the unrestricted exchange of information: international representation of the German book industry, the promotion of cultural exchange, and the "free dissemination of the written word" are understood not simply as guiding principles, but as a "cultural-political mandate" for the *Ausstellungs- und Messe GmbH*—the main subsidiary of the German Publishers and Booksellers Association responsible for organizing the Fair (Frankfurter Buchmesse). At the same time, the Fair has effectively enacted a spatial division between the humanist ideals upheld by cultural events, such as the presentation of the *Friedenspreis*, and the actual marketplace of the Fair, creating a structural reflection of the tensions between commerce and culture in Frankfurt.

A second central, but more recently developed aspect of the Fair's cultural-political program is its annual focus on the literature of a particular country. Director Jürgen Boos describes the development of the *Ehrengast,* or Guest of Honor program, in a 2008 interview:

> It is important to know that the 'Guest of Honour' principle stems from the 1970s. At that time publishers were discovering the possibilities offered by targeted marketing and invested undreamed-of sums of money for that purpose. The accusations of commercialisation were countered by the Frankfurt Book Fair in 1976 with the introduction of bi-annual focal themes, such as 'Latin America' in 1976 and 'Child and Book' in 1978. The aim was to put the spotlight on subject areas that lack a business lobby, but also to bolster the trade in rights. And that is still true today. ("FBF Celebrates")

Held annually since 1988, the Frankfurt Book Fair website describes the Guest of Honor concept as a "magnet for the general public" and a "highlight of media reporting about the Book Fair." It describes the main goals of this program as 1) drawing attention to lesser known literatures of the world and 2) increasing the number of translations emerging from said literatures. The program is designed to thereby bolster the publishing industry of guest countries by encouraging its cultural institutions to network on an international scale through its preparations for the Fair.

While these are clearly altruistic goals, the phrase "Guest" of Honor is somewhat of a misnomer. The central criteria for acceptance to the program are "an actively growing publishing industry, support for translations, and *adequate budget* and organisational structures for managing the programme" (my emphasis, "Guests"). In short, the guest country is expected to develop, implement and fully fund its appearance at the Fair. The Fair provides in return a prominent exhibition space of approximately 2,300 square meters. Beyond this, the Fair defines its relationship to the Guest of Honor as advisory: a two-member team is available to assist the guest country in the planning and implementation of its chosen theme, and to facilitate networking with the international book and media industry. In other words, the Fair provides a highly visible, international platform that affords the guest country significant freedom in structuring its own method of self-presentation, provided it can deliver the necessary monetary support.

TURKEY IN ALL ITS COLORS

The Frankfurt Book Fair's decision to host Turkey as a Guest of Honor in 2008 marked an important milestone in the history of German Turkish literary and cultural exchange. Featuring over 5,000 publications from and about Turkey, 139 new translations from Turkish into German, as well as diverse events and symposia staged across Germany over an eight-month period, the Fair attested to a growing German and international interest in the broad spectrum of Turkish literature. Such interest stands in contrast to unsuccessful negotiations in the late 1980s between Turkey and the Guest of Honor program, and a second, official application made by the Turkish Ministry of Culture Timurcin Savaş for the year 1998. 70 years following the introduction of the Latin script, this year had historical significance for modern Turkey in its reorientation toward a secular, western European heritage. Turkey's application was nevertheless eclipsed by celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the Frankfurt Book Fair in its postwar guise (Göktürk, "Nachslag" 31).

As such, Turkey's presence at the 2008 Book Fair marked a much-awaited, and successful culmination of long-standing attempts on the part of translators and scholars to present a new and modern image of Turkey to a German speaking audience. While generally undertaken by smaller publishing houses, individual translation initiatives in the 1980s and 90s paved the way for Turkey's role as Guest of Honor, and for a more positive and expanded reception of Turkish literature in the 21st century.[104] As demonstrated by my discussion of Pamuk's *Kar*—Turkish literature still faces limitations and stereotypes on the German and global markets. Events such as the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair—following which Turkey was also featured as the market focus at the 2013 London Book Fair—nevertheless attest to positive changes in the reception of Turkish literature at large.

Despite its international scale, German media coverage of the Fair emphasized time and again the significance of Turkey's role as Guest of Honor for a specific German Turkish relationship. Fair director Jürgen Boss in particular referenced the sizeable community of Turkish heritage in Germany and the diverse realm of contemporary German-Turkish literature as an expression of the multicultural character of the 21st century. At the same time, he lamented the fact that modern Turkish literature remains largely underrepresented in the German cultural realm. In a press conference of 2007 he commented specifically on the complex process of presenting one's own (book) culture at the Fair as a potential turning point for the reception of Turkish literature in Germany and elsewhere:

> Wie sich ein Land in Frankfurt zeigt, wie es seine (Buch-)Kultur am besten gespiegelt sieht, sorgt in der Regel lange vor dem Auftritt bei der Frankfurter Buchmesse im Gastland selbst für rege Diskussion und eine intensive Auseinandersetzung mit der eigenen kulturellen Identität. Ein, wie ich meine, wichtiger Prozess, der vieles in Bewegung setzt und viel bewegen kann – die Frankfurter Buchmesse bietet somit eine Chance für den interkulturellen Dialog und dem Gastland selbst auch eine Chance zur eigenen Standortbestimmung. ("Rede")

> [The way a country displays itself in Frankfurt, the way it prefers to see its (book)culture reflected, tends to generate active discussion and processes of examination regarding the guest country's cultural identity long before its appearance in Frankfurt. An, as I believe, important process, that can move things and sets things in motion – the Frankfurt Book Fair offers both a chance for intercultural dialogue and an opportunity for the guest country to

---

[104] For a discussion of such initiatives see the Introduction to this dissertation.

determine its own position.]

Boos' depiction of a guest country's self-presentation in Frankfurt as a form of self-*positioning* touches upon prevalant geo-political issues regarding Turkey's long history of Europeanization and its pending application for EU membership. On one hand, it suggests the need to conceive of Turkey's presence in Frankfurt as more than a mere process of validation via its interactions with, and recognition by, the "West." At the same time, Boos' call for "Europeans" to engage more intensely (*auseinandersetzen*) with the history, culture, and political structure of "den Beitrittskandidaten Türkei" [the candidate country of Turkey], gestures toward Turkey's status as a literary culture that continues to be imagined on the periphery of Europe.

German Secretary of State Frank-Walter Steinmeier reiterated this idea in one of three opening speeches for the fair: "es lohnt [sich], gemeinsam weiter auf das europäische Gesellschaftsmodell zu vertrauen, auf das Erbe der Aufklärung und den europäischen Willen für Frieden und Stabilität in der Welt" [it is worthwhile to continue to place our collective trust in the European model of society, in the heritage of the Enlightenment and the European desire for peace and stability in the world]. Steinmeier's closing remarks clearly locate the fair's guiding principle of fostering the free, unrestricted exchange of information within a tradition of *European* Enlightenment values. As such, his speech was largely in line with diverse media coverage that portrayed the 2008 fair as a crucial opportunity for Turkey to address issues of freedom of expression at home.

Without denying the real problems of censorship faced by authors in Turkey today, the fair's logo and opening symposium clearly refuted the idea that Turkey's censorship problems can only be solved through a form of Western engagement. On the contrary, they turned Jürgen Boss' assertion of an *Ausseinandersetzung* in the guest country back upon the host. In relation to Boss' opening remarks, it is notable that the Turkish committee chose a spatially deceptive logo. Consisting of the word "Turkey" embedded in a multi-color web, graphic designer Bülent Erkmen describes the 2008 logo (Figure 4) as an optical illusion that resembles a labyrinth or closed space, but actually contains multiple entrance and exit points:

Figure 4: 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair Logo, Turkey in All Its Colors

(Guest of Honor)

As an embodiment of the theme "Turkey in All Its Colors" (*Türkei, faszinierend farbig / Tüm Renkleriyle Türkiye*), this logo also offers an implicit commentary on the typical geopolitical positioning of Turkey vis-à-vis Europe. According to the logo concept:

> Dünyamız bugün çeşitli şekillerde ikiye bölünmeye çalışılıyor: Müslüman-Hıristiyan çatışmaları, çeşitli etnik tek kimlikler ülkelerin kaderi gibi gösteriliyor. Türkiye de bir süredir Avrupa Birliği karşısında sınava tabi tutuluyor. Sanki Avrupa Birliği de Türkiye de tek renkli tek biçimli bir bütünlük oluşturuyormuş gibi, ortada seçilecek iki net yol varmış gibi; ayrım çizgisi Avrupa ile Türkiye arasından geçiyormuş gibi bir tartışma sürdürülüyor. (SanalKültür)

> [These days we experience different attempts to divide the world: The conflicts between Muslims and Christians, various monoethnic identities are all represented as if they were the unchangeable fate of the world's countries. Turkey has also been under close scrutiny for a long time due to her relations with the European Union. The discussions lead to the impression that both the European Union and Turkey are one-dimensional and monolithic entities. It seems to be that there are just two evident paths to walk on and that there is a line of division between Turkey and Europe.] (SanalKültür)

The logo worked together with the opening symposium, "Imaginary East, Imaginary West – Thinking Beyond Civilizations" ("Hayali Doğu, Hayali Batı – Medeniyetler Ötesinde Düşünmek"),[105] to pose a serious challenge to the common perception of Frankfurt as a western stage upon which lesser recognized or remote literary cultures may achieve international validation. Whereas Frankfurt proposed a symposium on the theme of "Türkiye: Medeniyet Köprüsü" [Turkey: Bridge of Civilizations], the Turkish organizing committee insisted on a title that provoked thinking *beyond* a conception of the bridge, which connects two assumedly separate civilizational entitties. As a result, the symposium not only questioned where the geographical borders of East and West begin and end, it also prompted a critical interrogation of the very terms of western "civilization," as upheld by Steinmeier in his speech.

Müge Sökmen—owner and editer of the publishing house Metis and co-organizer for the 2008 Fair—describes the organizing committee's overall goal as "şaşırmak" [to surprise], and "politikaya yandan çarpmak" [to take a side swipe at politics]. In an alternate formulation she describes this as "taraf olmadan tavır almak" [to take a stand without taking a side], or to engage in an unexpected politics of engagement that works against common political associations and categorizations (Dickinson).

In my own formulation, the committee's goal could be described as presenting an unoriginal—in the sense of non-essentialist—version of Turkish culture to the world. The phrase Turkey in All Its Colors gestures as such not toward imagined composite influences on a pregiven, intact Turkish culture, but toward the heterogeneity of "Turkish" culture itself. This idea is underscored through the logo concept: "Kültürümüzü dünyanın dikkatine açarken hangi unsurun has Türk, hangi unsurun melez olduğu gibi bir tartışmaya girmek yerine, bu tarihi, bu iç içe geçişi öncelikle takdir etmeli ve şükranla karşılamalıyız... bu tarihe

---

[105] The symposium took place on 11-12 October, and was funded by the Turkish government with financial support from the Robert Bosch Stiftung. Opening comments were given by the Turkish author Murathan Mungan and the president of the German PEN center, Johano Strasser. Additional speakers included Seyla Benhabib, Nilüfer Göle, Joachim Hirsch, Khaled Hroub, Mahmood Mamdani, Onur Bilge Kula, Meltem Ahıska, Dan Diner, Mark Terkessidis, Jürgen Boos and Ahmet Arı.

ve şimdi içimizde barındırdığımız çeşitliliğe sahip çıkmalı, hakkını vermeliyiz" (SanalKültür) [As we are opening our culture to the world, it is of no use to discuss which aspect is really Turkish and which a hybrid. We should respect and embrace this historical legacy of cultural diversity with gratitude. We have to learn to accept and appreciate the diversity we carry in us, SanalKültür].

How does this image of Turkey tie into the politics of translatability I discuss in the first section of this chapter? Chair director Jürgen Boos has described the Frankfurt Bookfair first and foremost as a "Wirtschaftsplatz" [place of commerce], but also as a "Handelsplattform für Inhalte" [trading platform for contents] and a space for cultural and sociopolitical discussion: "Denn Inhalte spiegeln immer auch den gesellschaftlichen und sozialen Rahmen, in dem sie entstanden sind, oder haben diesen selbst zum Gegenstand" ("Rede") [Because contents always also reflect the cultural and social frames of reference within which they originate, or take these as their object]. Whether read as a reference to books, speeches performed, or the culture of a guest country on display—the *content* (*Inhalt*) Boos describes here is necessarily one subject to myriad processes of linguistic and cultural translation.

Recognizing the role of the Frankfurt Book Fair as an international platform or stage, Sökmen is quick to admit the extent to which the Turkish book market benefitted from its appearance as Guest of Honor in 2008 (Dickinson). In taking a stand against the compart-mentalization and over-politicization of Turkish literature, the Turkish organizing team furthermore exhibited that the politics of representation are inescapable. At the same time, it sought to challenge the Fair's image as a neutral, "western" stage, upon which Turkish literary culture is validated in translation through a questioning of the very terms of representation.

Certainly, the ultimate goal of the individual organizations who helped to plan and implement Turkey's appearance at the 2008 Fair was to increase the number of translations from Turkish into diverse world languages. At the same time, the 2008 logo worked together with the opening symposium to take a stand against the very terms of Turkish literature's translatability on the global market. In its refusal to offer an essentialized, "insider view" of Turkish culture, the organizational team also sought to mobilize the power of translation as a force of disruption and reconfiguration at precisely the world's largest marketplace for books in translation.

EUROPE IN THE EYE OF TURKEY: IN THE HOTEL ASIA

I return in conclusion to Orhan Pamuk's *Kar*, within which Frankfurt serves as the site through which the people of Kars imagine Europe, and the very real site of Ka's lonely, twenty-year exile. In his actual existence in Frankfurt, Ka is surrounded by signs of German book culture: Following the return from Kars, he resides for eight years on the *Goethestraße*, until he is assassinated one evening underneath the pink neon letter K, a reference that clearly ties Ka to the protagonist of Kafka's *Das Schloss*. Ka furthermore spends his days surrounded by books in the Frankfurt Public Library. On one hand, these diverse references to the German literary tradition recall the status of Frankfurt as the seat of the *Börsenverein des Deutschen Buchhandels,* and as a global player in the book market. Yet they simultaneously signal Ka's non-participation in the cultural capital at his fingertips. In his own words, Ka never learned German because "his body rejected the language" (*vücudum*

Almanca'ya direndi 38), a condition that allowed him to preserve both his purity (*saflık*) and his soul (*ruh*).

As such, Ka appears to be a figure of monolinguality, his existence in Frankfurt marked by a peculiarity of non-translation. According to one of Ka's only friends in Frankfurt, his face betrayed "the loneliness and defeat so commonly seen in first-generation immigrants and political exiles" (251). In many ways, Ka's dreary and solitary existence in Frankfurt forms a caricature of the stereotyped Turkish migrant in Germany, the silent and alien figure described by Homi Bhabha as representative of the "radical incommensurability of translation" (166). Within Bhabha's account of migrancy as a movement that disrupts the homogenous time and space of the nation as imagined community, the Turkish guestworker curiously emerges not as a sign of newness or cultural hybridity, but as a symbol of anti-metaphoricity, untranslatability and silence.[106]

Yet Ka is a well-educated, middle class poet, who utilizes the Frankfurt Public Library to access books in the highly global language of *English*—from Romantic poetry, to architectural histories and museum catalogues. An unlikely representative of a Turkish diaspora, Ka's character is rather an example of how *Kar*—which purportedly describes the political interior of the Turkish nation, is actually "preoccupied with the political workings of ...a global language system, as instantiated in how contemporary discourses about Turkey are inevitably routed through the supercentral language of German" (Gramling, *Where Here Begins* 207).

In the farcical scene in the Hotel Asia, in which residents of Kars attempt to draft a statement of German standards (*Alman standartlarına uyup*) for the *Frankfurter Rundschau,* both the German language and Frankfurt itself emerge as potential sites of international validation for a misunderstood Turkish populace. The absurd, and manipulated nature of this meeting is underscored on multiple levels. Part of an elaborate plot so that Ka may find the time to make love with İpek in his hotel room, the entire purpose of the meeting is predicated on Ka's made up, fairy-tale like German acquaintance—the journalist Hans Hansen. When asked who this figure is, Lacivert describes him as "Türkiyenin 'problemleriyle' içtenlikle ilgilenen, iyi niyetli bir Alman gazeteci" (275) ["a well-intentioned German journalist who took a deep interest in Turkey's problems" 275]. From their position on the eastern border of Turkey, in the metaphorical space of "Asia," the citizens of Kars are figured on the contrary, as isolated and forgotten following the theatrical coup. Their crippling desire to represent themselves to the "West" is furthermore emblematic of a *lack* in interest in the complexity of the politics they (comically) struggle to define.

While the deep irony of this situation requires no further explanation, the question remains as to what kind of statement is actually drafted in this meeting. The final product everyone rushes to sign is described as "düzeltme balonları ve karalamalarla arap saçına dönmüş [bir] bildiri" (273) ["a tangle of crossed-out words, arrows, and circled emendations" 273]. If this statement is thus figured to some extent as unreadable, it is not the expression of

---

[106] Bhabha builds here on John Berger's depiction of the Turkish migrant in *A Seventh Man* as a speechless Other, who is subject to the racist fantasies of a dominant Germany society (1975). Noting Berger's otherwise diverse depictions of Turkish migrants even in the 1970s, Leslie Adelson has commented on Bhabha's misappropriation of Berger's work; in applying Berger's analysis to the 1990s, Bhabha fails to contextualize his own reading of the migrant Turkish within a German context, making it of little use for contemporary studies of Turkish German literature ("Touching Tales" 103-106). Deniz Göktürk has similarly criticized Bhabha for reproducing the tropes of victimization and authenticity that dominated scholarship on Turkish migration and diaspora in Germany at the time ("Turkish Delight" 4-5).

an inability on the part of rivalling ideologies to produce a clearly articulated manifesto, but rather a refusal on the part of the novel to delineate its terms.

Amidst the absurdity of the meeting—which unfolds more like a series of monologues than a discussion—the impossibility of defining the position of Europe in the Turkish imaginary emerges: depicted alternately as the future of Turkey's humanity, and the cultural standpoint against which a Turkish identity is delineated, an idea of Europe comes into being through a series of competing essentialist definitions.

Within this scene, and within the novel at large, Pamuk could be said to parody a technique Gayatri Spivak has termed "strategic essentialism" (*Other Worlds,* 1987). In her recognition that all forms of identity can be theoretically deconstructed, and that all forms of essentialism can be revealed as imagined or constructed, Spivak notes that political structures such as the nation are still perpetuated as essential identities. In response, she proposes a "strategic use of positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest" (205). In other words, minority groups—despite their inherent diversity—may temporarily essentialize themselves in order to gain recognition and achieve certain political gains. While *Kar* puts forth myriad one-sided views on the irreconcilability of assumedly "Turkish" and "European" cultures, neither the citizens of Kars, nor *Kar* itself come together to present a cohesive self-portrayal of Turkey in its relationship to the "West."

Notably, Boris Buden has rearticulated Spivak's concept of "strategic essentialism" as a much-needed form of translation:

> For the historical situation we live in articulates itself in two different languages: that of postmodern anti-essentialist theory and that of a parallel, old essentialist political practice. Spivak's concept of "strategic essentialism" simply admits that there is no direct correspondence between these two languages [and that...] the only possible way of a communication between them is a kind of translation. ("Cultural Translation")

While Buden does not specify what *kind* of translation this actually is, I argue that *Kar* offers one potential model in reverse. In its comic rejection of the strategically essentialist approach it seemingly employs, *Kar* attests to the pressures Turkish literature and culture are up against to be "translatable" in a way that meets the expectations of a Euro-Atlantic audience. If Frankfurt emerges within the novel not as a localized site of a specific German Turkish relationship—but as a site through which Europe is imagined vis-à-vis Turkey, what *Kar*'s humorous (non)essentialization of itself ultimately makes clear, is the impossible unity of an imagined, unified Europe to which it addresses itself.

This is arguably a trope that runs through all of Pamuk's fiction. In her reading of *Beyaz Kale* [1985, translated into English as *The White Castle* and into German as *Die weiße Festung,* both in 1990], Deniz Göktürk argued in 1993 that Pamuk's "Die Weiße Festung tritt an gegen die Festung Europa" (38) [The White Fortress runs up against Fortress Europe]. Its parable-like story of doppelgängers and role-reversal between a Venetian and an Ottoman renders the borders between Orient and Occident fluid, revealing these assumedly separate cultural realms to be fundamentally interconnected.

It is precisely this impossibility of one, unified understanding of Europeanness that the organizing committee implicitly addressed in 2008 via an emphasis on the hybridity of Turkish culture itself. Together, the catch phrases "Turkey in All Its Colors" and "Imaginary East – Imaginary West" recognize the irony of performing one's *national* culture on the *global* stage of the Frankfurt Book Fair, which is nevertheless recognized as being implicitly

European and western. The very need to explicitly address this irony attests to the staying power of binarisms such as Turkey/Europe and East/West, even as the committee attempted to deconstruct them. At the same time, Frankfurt's willingness to reformulate its own proposal for an opening symposium on Turkey as a "civilizational bridge" between "East" and "West," and to stage instead a series of talks that fundamentally questioned the validity of these very terms as both geographical and ideological categories is notable. It points to the multiple forms of "Auseinandersetzung"—or critical self-examination—as addressed by director Jürgen Boos, that may be instigated through the preparation and implementation of the the Guest of Honor's program, in both the Guest *and* Host countries.

CONCLUSION

෴

> "Europa ist die Reflexion meines Gesichts, und umgekehrt:
> Ich bin die Reflexion des Gescichts von Europa."
>
> [Europe is the reflection of my face,
> and I am the reflection of the face of Europe.]
>
> ~ Aras Ören,
> Chamisso Prize Acceptance Speech, 1986

Established in 1986, the Adelbert von Chamisso Prize[107] was conceived to honor nonnative German authors for their contribution to German literature. Heinrich Weinrich describes the goal of this prize as following:

> Die Schaffung des Adelbert-von-Chamisso Preises... für Autoren nichtdeutscher Mutter-sprache soll ein Zeichen dafür sein, daß uns Deutschen diese Literatur, die von außen kommt, willkommen ist und daß wir sie als Bereicherung unserer eigenen Literatur und als ein konkretes Stück Weltliteratur zu schätzen wissen. Und wenn wir auch manchmal im Zweifel sind, wie wir diese halb ausländischen, halb inländischen Autern nennen sollen, die manchmal keinen deutschen Paß, aber eine deutsche Feder haben, so sind wir Augenblicklich aller Wortverlegenheit enthoben, wenn wir sie Chamissos Enkel nennen. (qtd in *Transit* 573)

> [The creation of the Adelbert von Chamisso Prize ... for authors who do not speak German as a native language, is a signal that literature from the outside is welcome among us Germans and that we can appreciate it as an enrichment of our own literature and as a concrete piece of world literature. And even if we sometimes are not sure how to address these half-foreigner, half native authors who often do not have a German passport but do have a German pen, we are momentarily absolved of our linguistic confusion when we name them "Chamisso's grandchildren.] (qtd in *Transit* 391)

Already the first recipient of this prize, Aras Ören, clearly questioned the terms of non/nativeness, Self and Other, inside and outside described here, by asking what it might mean to have a "German pen." In his acceptance speech, Ören describes his search for a new language (*neue Sprache*) that might reflect on a social and cultural sphere that clearly transcends the borders of Germany via a new and developing European identity. While he depicts his own work as the product of mass migrations from Turkey to Germany—from a peripheral agrarian country to the center of Europe—in which he himself took part, he also locates this very dislocation in the experience of Europeanness: "Das Bewußtsein der Einwanderung und mein literarisches Bewußtsein... sind zugleich Faktoren des neuen Bewußtseins, der neuen Indentität, nach denen Europa und alle hochindustrialisierten Staaten

---

[107] Louis Charles Adelaide Chamisso de Boncourt (1781-1838) was born in France; he later emigrated to Germany and became a German poet known as Aldelbert von Chamisso.

in den letzen zwei Jahrzehnten unseres Jahrhunderts Ausschau halten" (qtd in *Transit* 575) ["The awareness of immigration and my literary consciousness... are simultaneously determining factors of the new consciousness, the new identity, which Europe and all highly industrialized nations have been searching for in the past two decades of this century" qtd in *Transit* 393].

The candidness of this speech exemplifies the reception history of Aras Ören. Composed mainly in Turkish, but widely translated into German, his playful and postmodern literary texts defy the paradigm of "nonnative German author." They resonate rather with Zafer Şenocak's provocative call to "open the German language" by dislodging it from an inclusive, ethnocultural definition of Germanness. Şenocak's decision to begin publishing in Turkish in the 21st century can be read, in turn, as a cyclical return to the processes of translation that underscored Ören's literary output and ensured his entrance into the German literary realm in the 1980s.

This dissertation both embraces the centrality of translation to the "new" and "open" languages Ören and Şenocak respectively describe, at the same time that it challenges the premise of "newness." Processes of literary and cultural translation have forged myriad German Turkish connections from the 18th century to the present; they have been tied to 19th century discourses of Orientalism and Europeanization, and have been central to the German and Turkish nation-building projects in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, at the same time that they suggest the need to think beyond the category of the national. By ending this dissertation with a discussion of the 2008 Frankfurt Book Fair—which I read as the culmination of a more than 200-year history of German Turkish literary contact—I show how a German Turkish relationship that has evolved in and through translation is tied up in processes of both Europeanization and global circulation in the 21st century.

It is along similar lines that I envision the history of translational contact I trace through my case studies as a site of opening for future reconfigurations of the German Turkish relationship. The omnidirectional translation practices I address in this dissertation attest not only to a break down in the binaries of German/Turkish, but also the paradigms of Center/Periphery, West/East, and Occident/Orient within which these terms have historically been embedded. Whereas canons of foreign literatures in translation can limit and solidify an existing, and at times stereotypical, image of the source culture, I show how translation also functions as a disruptive force, "turning [texts] in the direction of new frames of reference, and raising fresh and unanticipated questions in the cultures that read it" (S. Berman, "World Literature" 174-175).

All of the texts I examine in this dissertation intervene in and disrupt dominant paradigms of analysis, ranging from the asserted inadequacy of late Ottoman translation movements, and the belatedness of a modern Turkish literature vis-à-vis its European counterparts (Fazıl, Edip, Rasim), to the localization and subsequent stabilization of the Other within the field of Orientalism (Goethe); from the belief in the smooth translatability of western European humanism into the early Turkish Republican context (Ali), to the translatability of Turkish literature on the global market (Pamuk); from the paradigm of linguistic purity in the early Turkish Republic to the ethnocultural discourses of language and memory in the Federal Republic of Germany (Şenocak).

As such, this dissertation also participates in the expansion of the contemporary field of Turkish German Studies. The case studies I examine attest to a substantial history of translational contact that has remained largely overlooked in cultural studies and literary histories of the German Turkish relationship. The complexity of each instance of contact

attests to a much longer arc of what has come to be defined as contemporary Turkish-German Studies, a field that emerged critially in the 1990s and is generally considered a sub-field of German Studies or *Germanistik*. Taking the diverse translational connectivities forged by authors such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Ahmet Rasim, Sabahattin Ali, Zafer Şenocak, and Orhan Pamuk as a point of provocation, I ask in conclusion the extent to which "Turkish German Studies" actually constitutes a field of its own? I suggest this not in a prescriptive manner that attempts to define the paramaters of a self-inclusive field, but rather to underscore the deep intersections of a German Turkish relationship with other frameworks of analysis, from German and European, to Turkish, Mediterranean, and Middle Eastern Studies, and from Comparative Literature to Translation Studies. As the diverse case studies in this dissertation reveal, the parameters of German Turkish studies are constantly in flux, reaching across time periods and traditions, marked by numerous understudied cultural and literary connections of the 19th and early 20th centuries, of which translation activity accounts for one central component.

In the spirit of Zafer Şenocak's provocative call to "open the German language," I envision this dissertation as a site of opening for future reconfigurations of the field of Turkish German Studies. The research I engage in here clearly builds on what has already become a fundamentally interdisciplinary field, which addresses issues such as race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, nationality, citizenship, and religion. My emphasis on moments of translational connectivity seeks to further push the framework of this field beyond the realm of the German nation state, and the period of postwar migration from Turkey to Germany. In highlighting the significance of the Turkish cultural and historical archive for our contemporary understanding of Germanness, and vice versa, I do not simply envision a geographic-historical expansion of Turkish German Studies in an additive sense, but rather a methodological readjustment of the terms of relevancy—whether they be linguistic, ideological or socio-cultural. In contrast to the assumed one-way movement of migration, and the asserted centrality of German-language texts to the field of Turkish German Studies, this dissertation calls for a multi-directional and multilingual approach to the Turkish German relationship from the 18th century to the present. In doing do, I highlight the ability of translations to move non-horizontally and non-hierarchically across time periods and traditions, to disrupt ethnocultural definitions of language and memory, and to forge new, decentered understandings of the German Turkish literary and cultural relationship.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adelson, Leslie A. *The Turkish Turn in Contemporary German Literature: Toward a New Critical Grammar of Migration*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Print. Studies in European Culture and History. Print.

---. "Back to the Future: Turkish Remembrances of the GDR and Other Phantom Pasts." *The Cultural After-Life of East Germany: New Transnational Perspectives*. Vol. 13. Washington, D.C.: American Institute for Contemporary German Studies, 2002. 93–109. Print. Harry & Helen Gray Humanities Program Series. Print.

---. "Touching Tales of Turks, Germans, and Jews: Cultural Alterity, Historical Narrative, and Literary Riddles for the 1990s. *New German Critique*. Vol. 80. (Spring-Summer, 2000): 93-124. Print.

Ahiska, Meltem. *Occidentalism in Turkey: Questions of Modernity and National Identity in Turkish Radio Broadcasting*. London ; New York : New York: Tauris Academic Studies ; Distributed in the United States and Canada exclusivelyby Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. Print. Library of Modern Middle East Studies 79. Print.

Akçam, Taner. *A Shameful Act: The Armenian Genocide and the Question of Turkish Responsibility*. Trans. Paul Bessemer. New York: Henry Holt and Company LLC, 2006. Print.

---. *The Young Turks' Crime against Humanity: The Armenian Genocide and Ethnic Cleansing in the Ottoman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012. Print.

Akcan, Esra. *Architecture in Translation*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2012. Print.

"Alfred Nobel's Will." *The Official Website of the Nobel Prize*. N.p., n.d. Web. 1 Apr. 2015.

Ali, Filiz, Atilla Özkırımlı, and Sevengül Sönmez, eds. *Sabahattin Ali: Anılar, İncelemeler, Eleştiriler*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2014. Print.

Ali, Sabahattin. *The Madonna in the Fur Coat*. Trans. İlker Hepkaner and David Gramling. 2014. MS. Print. May 2015.

---. *Die Madonna Im Pelzmantel*. Trans. Ute Birgi-Knellessen. Zurich: Dörlemann, 2008. Print.

---. *Hep Genç Kalacağım: Bütün Yapıtları Mektup*. Ed. Sevengül Sönmez. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008. Print.

---. "İkinci Dilden Tercüme Meselesi ve Bir Misal." *Markopaşa Yzıları ve Ötekiler*. Ed. Hikmet Altınkaynak and Sevengül Sönmez. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2012. 104–111. Print.

---. *Kürk Mantolu Madonna*. 28th ed. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2008. Print.

---. *Mahkemelerde: Belgeler*. Ed. Nüket Esen and Nezihe Seyhan. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2004. Print.

---. *Markopaşa Yazıları ve Ötekiler*. Ed. Sevengül Sönmez and Hikmet Altınkaynak. 7th ed. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1998. Print.

---. *Markopaşa Yazıları ve Ötekiler: Bütün Yapıtları Yazılar*. Ed. Sevengül Sönmez. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009. Print.

---. "Mufassal Cermenistan Seyahatnamesi." *Sabahattin Ali: Anılar, İncelemeler, Eleştiriler*. Ed. Ali Filiz and Atilla Özkırımlı. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1979. Print.

---. *Üç Romantik Hikaye: Kleist, Chamisso, Hoffmann*. Ankara: Maarif Matbası, 1943. Print.

Almond, Ian. *History of Islam in German Thought from Leibniz to Nietsche*. New York: Routledge, 2010. Print.

Ammodeo, Immacolata. *Die Heimat Heißt Babylon: Zur Literatur Auslandischer Autoren in Der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag Opladen, 1996. Print.

"Andrea Del Sarto's Madonna Delle Arpie (Madonna of the Harpies)." *JSS Virtual Gallery*, February 28, 2003. http://jssgallery.org/Other_Artists/Andrea_del_Sarto/Madonna_ of_the Harpies.htm. Web. May 1, 2015.

Apter, Emily. *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*. New York: Verso, 2013.

Apter, Emily. "Global Translatio: The 'Invention' of Comparative Literature, Istanbul 1933." *The Translation Zone: A New Comparative Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006. Print.

---. "On Translation in a Global Market." *Duke University Press* 13.1 (2001): 1–12. Print.

Aytürk, İlker. "Turkish Linguistics Against the West: The Origins of Linguistic Nationalism in Atatürk's Turkey." *Middle Eastern Studies* 40.6 (2004): 1–25. Print.

Bachmann-Medick, Doris. "Meanings of Translation in Cultural Anthropology." In *Translating Others*. Ed. Theo Hermans. Manchester, UK: St. Jerome Publishing, 2006. 33-42. Print.

Bassnett, Susan, and Andre Lefevere, eds. *Translation, History, Culture*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1990.

Beals, Kurt. "Alternative to Impossibility: Translation as Dialogue in the Works of Paul Celan." *Translation Studies* 7.3 (2014): 284–299. Print.

Benjamin, Walter. "Die Aufgabe des Übersetzers / The Task of the Translator." *Delos 2: A Journal on and of Translation.* Austin: The National Translation Center, 1968. Print.

Berger, John, and Jean Mohr. *A Seventh Man : A Book of Images and Words about the Experience of Migrant Workers in Europe*. Baltimore: Penguin, 1975.

Berman, Antoine. *The Experience of the Foreign: Culture and Translation in Romantic Germany Trans. S. Heyvaert. New York: State University of New York Press, 1992.* Trans. S. Heyvaert. New York: State University of New York Press, 1992. Print.

Berman, Marshall. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. New York: Viking Penguin, 1988. Print.

Berman, Nina. "Was Dokumentiert Die Literatur? Praxistheorie Und Vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft Zum Deutsch-Türkischen Kulturkontakt Im 18. Und 20. Jahrhundert." *Türkisch-Deutscher Kulturkontakt Und Kulturtransfer*. Ed. Şeyda Ozil, Michael Hofmann, and Yasemin Dayıoğlu-Yücel. Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2011. 157–168. Print.

Bermann, Sandra. "Performing Translation." *A Companion to Translation Studies*. Edited by Sandra Bermann and Catherine Porter. New York: John Wiley and Sons, 2014. 298-197. Print.

---. "World Literature and Comparative Literature." *The Routledge Companion to World Literature*. Eds. Theo D'haen, David Damrosch and Djelal Kadir. New York: Routledge, 2011. 169-179. Print.

---.. "Introduction." *Nation, Language and the Ethics of Translation.* Eds. Sandra Bermann and Michael Wood. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005. 1-10. Print.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture:* New York: Routledge, 1997. Print.

Bhatti, Anil. "Der Orient Als Experimentierfeld. Goethes 'Divan' Und Der Aneignungs-

prozess Kolonialen Wissens." *Goethe-Jahrbuch* 126 (2009): 115–128. Print.

Biondi, Franco, and Rafik Schami. "Literatur Der Betroffenheit Franco Biondi and Rafik Schami." *Zu Hause in Der Fremde: Ein Bundesdeutsches Ausländer-Lesebuch*. Ed. Christian Schaffernicht. Fischerhude: Verlag Atelier im Bauernhaus, 1981. Print.

Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi. 2nd ed. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, 1997. Print.

Böhmer, Maria. "Pflicht Zum Deutsch Lernen." 9 Mar. 2007. RP Online.

Boos, Jürgen. "Rede von Juergen Boos, Direktor Der Frankfurter Buchmesse Bei Der Pressekonferenz Zur Vorschau Gastland Türkei 2008." Frankfurt, Presse-Zentrum. 2007.

Bosse, Anke. *Bosse, Anke. Meine Schatzkammer Füllt Sich Täglich: Die Nachlassstücke Zu Goethes West- Östlichem Divan*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 1999. Print.

Bozdoğan, Sibel, and American Council of Learned Societies. "Modernism and Nation Building: Turkish Architectural Culture in the Early Republic." *ACLS Humanities E-Book* (2001): n. pag. *oskicat.berkeley.edu Library Catalog*. Web. 28 May 2014. Studies in Modernity and National Identity.

Bozdoğan, Sibel, and Reşat Kasaba, eds. *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997. Print. Publications on the Near East.

Brennan, Timothy. *Salman Rushdie and the Third World: Myths of the Nation*. London: MacMillan, 1989. Print.

Brouillette, Sarah. "Literature Is Liberalism." *Jacobin* (2014): n. pag. Web. 1 Apr. 2015.

Budin, Boris. "Cultural Translation: Why It Is Important and Where to Start with It." *Cultural Translation: Why it is important and where to start with it* (2006): n. pag. Web.

"Bundesministerium Des Innern." *Migration und Integration*. N.p., n.d. Web.

Burwick, Roswitha. "Issues of Language and Communication: Kleist's 'Die Verlobung in St. Domingo.'" *The German Quarterly* 65.3/4 (1992): 318–327. Print.

Caruth, Cathy. "Introduction." *Trauma: Explorations in Memory*. Ed. Cathy Caruth. Baltimore: John Hopkins Universty Press, 1995. Print.

---. *Trauma and Experience: Trauma, Narrative, and History*. Baltimore: John Hopkins Universty Press, 1996. Print.

Casanova, Pascale. *The World Republic of Letters*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007. Print.

Celan, Paul. "Der Meridian." *Paul Celan: Werke*. Ed. Bernhard Böschenstein and Heino Schmull. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1999. Print.

---. *Paul Celan, Collected Prose*. Trans. Rosmarie Waldrop. New York: Routledge, 2003. Print.

Chang, Changfu. "Civilization and Barbarism: Deconstructing Logocentrism in the Works of Several Communication Scholars." *Intercultural Communication Studies* X.2 (2000): 121–143. Print.

Cheah, Peng. "The Grounds of Comparison" Diacritics. 29:4. (Winter 1999).

Çıkar, Mustafa. *Hasan-Ali Yücel ve Türk Kültür Reformu*. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 1997. Print.

Çolak, Yılmaz. "Language Policy and Official Ideology in Early Republican Turkey." *Middle Eastern Studies* 40.6 (2004): 61–91. Print.

Daldeniz, Elif. "Translation, Modernity and Its Dissidents: Turkey as a 'Republic of Translation.'" *Translation Studies* 3:2 (2010): 129–131. Print.

Demircioğlu, Cemal. *From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking "Translation" (Terceme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition.* Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Translation Studies, 2005. Print.

---. *From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking "Translation" (Terceme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition.* 2005. Dissertation. Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi, Translation Studies.

Derrida, Jacques. *Of Grammatology.* Trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Baltimore: John Hopkins Universty Press, 1997. Print.

D'haen, Theo. "Mapping World Literature." *The Routledge Companion to World Literature.* Eds. Theo D'haen, David Damrosch and Djelal Kadir. New York: Routledge, 2011. 413-422. Print.

Dickinson, Kristin. "Translating Surfaces: A Dual Critique of Modernity in Sabahattin Ali's Kürk Mantonlu Madonna." *TRANSIT: Journal of Travel, Migration, and Multiculturalism in the German-Speaking World* 9, no. 1 (2013): 1–8.

Diez, Heinrich Friedrich von. *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien.* Vol. 1. Berlin: Nicolaischen Buchhandlung, 1811. Print. 2 vols.

---. *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien.* Vol. 2. Berlin: Nicolaischen Buchhandlung, 1815. Print. 2 vols.

Dilâçar, Agop. *Türk Dil Kurumunun 40 Yılı.* Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 1972. Print.

"Doppelpass: Bundestag Weitet Doppelte Staatsbürgerschaft Aus." 3 July 2014. Web.

Dünya Edebiyatından Tercümeler Listesi. Ankara: Maarif Basımevi, 1959. Print.

Eigler, Friederike. "Memory, Moralism, and Coming to Terms with the Present: Martin Walser and Zafer Şenocak." *Memory Traces:1989 and the Question of German Cultural Identity.* Ed. Silke Arnold-de Simine. Vol. 5. Bern: Peter Lang, 2005. 55–78. Print. Cultural History and Literary Imagination.

Eisenstadt, S.N. "Multiple Modernities." *Daedalus.* 129.1. (Winter 2000). 1-29. Print.

Eldrige, Richard. *Literature, Life, and Modernity.* New York: Columbia University Press, 208. Print.

Engin, Ismail. "Türkiye'nin Kültürel Renkleri Ya Da Bütün Renkleriyle Türkiye." *SanalKültür-KanalKültür.* N.p., 17 Oct. 2013. Web. 2 May 2015.

Enginün, Inci. *Tanzimat Devrinde Shakespeare: Tercümeleri ve Tesiri.* 1979. Dissertation. İstanbul : İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi,.

---. *Türkçede Shakespeare.* Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2008. Print.

Eren, Hasan. *Türk Dil Kurumundan Eski Anılar.* Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2008. Print.

Erol, Sibel. "Reading Orhan Pamuk's Snow as Parody: Difference as Sameness." *Comparative Critical Studies.* 4.3 (2007): 403–432. Print.

Ertem, Rekim. *Elfebe'den Alfabe'ye: Türkiye'de Harf ve Yazı Meselesi.* Istanbul: Dergah Yayımlar, 1991. Print.

Ertürk, Nergis. *Grammatology and Literary Modernity in Turkey.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Print.

---. "Those Outside the Scene: Snow in the World Republic of Letters." *New Literary History* 41.3 (2010): 633–651. Print.

---. "Modernity and Its Fallen Languages: Tanpınar's Hasret, Benjamin's Melancholy." *PMLA* 123, no. 1 (2008): 41–56.

Eruz, Sakine. *Çokkültürlülük ve Çeviri: Osmanlı Devlet'inde Çeviri Etkinliği ve Çevirmenler.*

Istanbul: Multilingual, 2010. Print.

Even-Zohar, Itamar. "Culture Planning, Cohesion, and the Making and Maintenance of Entities." *Beyond Descriptive Translation Studies: Investigations in Homage to Gideon Toury*. Ed. Anthony Pym, Miriam Schlesinger, and Daniel Simeoni. 75th ed. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2008. Print.

Even-Zohar, Itamar, and Lawrence Venuti. "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem." *The Translation Studies Reader*. Second. New York: Routledge, 2002. Print.

"FAQs Guest of Honour." *Frankfurter Buchmesse*. N.p., n.d. Web. 15 Mar. 2015.

Fidecaro, Agnese. "'But Who Is That on the Other Side of You' - Translation Materiality and the Question of the Other in Anita Desai's Clear Light of Day." *Translation of Cultures*. Ed. Petra Rüdiger and Konrad Gross. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009. Print. Cross/Cultures 106.

Fischer, Bernd. "Introduction: Heinrich von Kleist's Life and Work." *A Companian to the Works of Heinrich von Kleist*. Ed. Bernd Fischer. Rochester: Camden House, 2003. 1–20. Print.

Fleming, Ray. "Race and the Difference It Makes in Kleist's 'Die Verlobung in St. Domingo.'" *The German Quarterly* 65.3/4 (1992): 306–317. Print.

"Friedenspreis Des Deutschen Buchhandels." *The History of the Peace Prize*. N.p., n.d. Web. 13 Apr. 2015.

Gaillus, Andreas. "Language Unmoored: On Kleist's The Betrothal in St. Domingue." *The Germanic Review* 85 (2010): 20–43. Print.

Gerstenberger, Katharina. "Difficult Stories: Generation, Geneology, Gender in Zafer Şenocak's Gefährliche Verwandtschaft and Monika Maron's Pawels Briefe." *Recasting German Identity: Culture Politics and Literature in the Berlin Republic*. Ed. Stuart Taberner and Frank Finlay. Rochester: Camden House, 2002. Print.

Glassen, Erika. "Der Stellenwert Der Türkischen Bibliothek Im Gesamtkomplex Der Deutschen Übersetzungsliteratur Aus Dem Türkischen." In *Türkisch-Deutscher Kulturkontakt Und Kulturtransfer*, 291–300. Türkisch-Deutsche Studien. Jahrbuch. Göttingen: Göttingen University Press, 2011. Print.

---. Nachwort. *Der Dämon in Uns*. By Sabahattin Ali. Trans. Ute Birgi-Knellessen. Zürich: Unionsverlag, 2007. Print.

Göçek, Fatma Müge. *Denial of Violence: Ottoman Past, Turkish Present, and Collective Violence against the Armenians, 1789-2009*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Print.

---. *West-East Divan: The Poems, with "Notes and Essays."* Trans. Martin Bidney and Peter Anton von Arnim. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2010. Print.

Goethe, Johann Wolgang von. *Die Leiden Des Jungen Werther*. Anaconda Verlag GmbH, 2005. Print.

---. *The Sorrows of Young Werther*. Trans. Burton Pike. New York: The Modern Library, 2004. Print.

---. *West-Östlicher Divan*. Zürich: Manesse Verlag, 2004. Print.

---. „Literarischer Sansculottismus." *Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Sämtliche Werke nach Epochen seines Schaffens*. Munich: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1998. 15-21. Print.

---. *Verter*. Trans. Ali Kani Akyüz. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye, 1329. Print.

---. "'Verter' 10 Mayıs Tarihli Mektup." Trans. Hüseyn Daniş. *Malumat Dergisi* 12 (1310): 101. Print.

---. "'Verter' 26 Mayıs Tarihli Mektup." Trans. Mustafa Fazıl. *Malumat Dergisi* 21 (1310): 169. Print.

---. "'Verter' 13 Mayıs Tarihli Mektup." Trans. Ahmet Rasim. *Gülşen Dergisi* 19 (1302): 8. Print.

Gökalp, Ziya. "Maarif Meselesi." *Milli Terbiye ve Maarif Meselesi*. 2nd ed. Ankara: İş Matbaacılık, 1972. Print.

Göknar, Erdağ M. *Orhan Pamuk, Secularism, and Blasphemy: The Politics of the Turkish Novel*. New York: Routledge, 2013. Print.

Göktürk, Akşit *Sözün Ötesi*. Istanbul: İnkilap Kitapevi, 1989. Print.

---. *Çeviri: Dilerin Dili*. Istanbul: Çağdaş Yayınları, 1986. Print.

---. "Die Literarische Übersetzung." *Der Werdegang der modernen Türkei: Beiträge zur Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Sprache und Kultur des Landes*. Ed. Pia Angela Göktürk. Matematik Araştırma Merkezi Baskı Atölyesi: Istanbul, 1983. 132-143. Print.

Göktürk, Deniz. "Imagining Europe as a Realm of Transfiguration." Translated by Kristin Dickinson. *Critical Multilingualism Studies Journal* 2, no. 1 (2014): 129–47. Print.

---. "Mobilität und Stillstand im Weltkino digital." *Kultur als Ereignis*. Ed. Özkan Ezli. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2010. 15-45. Print.

---, David Gramling, and Tony Kaes. *Transit Deutschland. Debatten zu Nation und Migration*. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2011. Print.

---, Levent Soysal, and İpek Türeli, eds. *Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe?* New York: Routledge, 2010. Print.

---. "Projecting Polyphony: Moving Images, Travelling Sounds." *Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe?* New York: Routledge, 2010. 178-200. Print.

---, David Gramling, and Tony Kaes. *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955-2005*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. Print.

---. "Turkish Delight - German Fright: Migrant Identities in Transnational Cinema." University of Oxford: Transnational Communities Programme, 1999. Print.

---. "Nachschlag zur Buchmesse: Wo bleibt die Türkei?" *Die Tageszeitung*. 29 October 1994: 31-32. Print.

---. "Schwarzes Buch in weißer Festung: Entschwindende Erzähler auf postmodernen Pfaden in der türkischen Literatur." *Deutschunterricht: Beiträge zu seiner Praxis und wissenschaftlichen Grundlegung*. Ed. Helmut Scheuer. Hannover: Schroedel Schulbuchverlag GmbH, 1993. 32-45. Print.

---, and Zafer Şenocak, eds. *Jedem Wort Gehört Ein Himmel*. 1. Aufl. Berlin: Babel Verlag Hund & Toker, 1991. Print.

Göktürk, Pia Angela. "Deutsche Übersetzungen aus der türkischen Literatur." *Der Werdegang der modernen Türkei: Beiträge zur Geschichte, Gesellschaft, Sprache und Kultur des Landes*. Ed. Pia Angela Göktürk. Matematik Araştırma Merkezi Baskı Atölyesi: Istanbul, 1983. 161-173. Print.

Graham, Ilse. *Goethe: Portrait of the Artist*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co, 1977. Print.

Gramling, David. "What Is Turkish-German Studies up Against? Occidentalism and Thigmotactics." *Colloquia Germanica* 44.4 (2011): 382–395. Print.

---. *Where Here Begins: Monolingualism and the Spatial Imagination*. 2008. Dissertation. UC Berkeley. Print.

---. "Whose Residence?: Zafer Şenocak's Novel *Köşk* (*Der Pavillion*) as a Limit Case in German Turkish Belles-Lettres." University of Arizona: N.p., 2010. Print.

"Graph for TEDA Supports by Language." *TEDA: Translation and Publication Grant*

Programme of Turkey, 2012. http://www.tedaproject.gov.tr/EN,53651/graph-for-teda-supports-by-languages.html. Web. May 1, 2015.

Güney, Erol. "Tanıdığım Sabahattin Ali." *Sabahattin Ali: Anılar, İncelemeler, Eleştiriler*. Ed. Ali Filiz and Atilla Özkırımlı. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011. 125–126. Print.

Gürses, Sabri. "Sabahattin Ali'nin Hayatında ve Yapıtında Çeviri." *Sabahattin Ali*. Ed. Sevengül Sönmez. Ankara: T.C. Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2013. 395–418. Print.

Guenther, Irene. "Magic Realism, New Objectivity, and the Arts during the Weimar Republic." In *Magic Realism: Theory, History, Community*, eds. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005. 33–74. Print.

Hake, Sabine, and Barbara Mennel, eds. Turkish German Cinema in the New Millenium: Sites, Sounds, and Screens. New York: Berghahn Books, 2012. Print.

Hamacher, Werner. "Das Beben der Darstellung." *Positionen der Literaturwissenschaft. Acht Modellanalysen am Beispiel von Kleists* Das Erdbeben in Chili. Ed. David E. Wellbery. München: Verlag C.H. Beck. 1984. 149-173. Print.

Halle, Randall. *The Europeanization of Cinema: Interzones and Imaginative Communities*. Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2014. Print.

---. "The Europeanization of Turkish Cinema." German Studies Association. Kansas City, 19 September 2014. Seminar Presentation.

Haque, Kamaal. "From the Desert to the City and Back: Nomads and the Spaces of Goethe's West-Oestlicher Divan." *Spatial Turns: Space, Place, Mobility in German Literary*. Ed. Jaimey Fisher and Barbara Mennel. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010. Print.

Harvie, Jen. *Staging the UK*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005. Print.

"Haymatloz—Exil in der Türkei, 1933-1945." *Aktives Museum: Faschismus und Widerstand in Berlin e.V.* n.d. Web. May 14, 2015. http://www.aktives-museum.de/fileadmin/user_upload/Extern/Dokumente/Flyer_Haymatloz.pdf.

Heidenreich, Nanna. "Von Bio- und anderen Deutschen: Aspekte der V/Erkennungsdienste des Deutschen Ausländerdiskurses." *Weiß- Weißen- Whiteness*. Eds. Grabriele Dietze, Martina Tißberger, Daniela Hzran, and Jana Husmann-Kastein. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006. 203-18. Print.

Henkel, Arthur. "Bildermodulation: Zur Poetischen Verfahrensweise Goethes Im *West-Östlichen Divan*." *Spiegelungen*. Ed. Werner Knopp. Mainz: Hase und Koehler, 1986. 251–277. Print.

Hermans, Theo. Cross-Cultural Translation Studies as Thick Translation. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies,* University of London. Vol. 66, No. 3 (2003): 380-389. Print.

Holbrook, Victoria R. "Concealed Facts, Translation, and the Turkish Literary Past." *Translations: Reshaping of Literature and Culture*. Ed. Saliha Paker. Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002. 77–107. Print.

Humboldt, Wilhelm Freiherr von. "Einleitung Zum Aeschylus's Agamemnon." *Wilhelm von Humboldt: Werke in Fünf Bänden*. Vol. 5. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft Darmstadt, 1981. Print. 5 vols. Print.

Irzık, Sibel. "Allegorical Lives." *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102.2/3 (2003): 551–566. Print.

Iser, Wolfgang. *Der Akt Des Lesens: Theorie Ästhetischer Wirkung*. München: W. Fink, 1984. Print.

---. "Die Appellstruktur der Texte: Unbestimmtheit als Wirkungsbedingung literarischer Prosa." *Rezeptionsästhetik*: *Theorie und Praxis*. Ed. Rainer Warning. München,

Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1975. 228-252. Print.

---. "The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach." *New Literary History* 3, no. 2 (Winter 1972): 179–299. Print.

Jauss, Hans Robert. *Literaturgeschichte Als Provokation*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1974. Print.

Kaplan, Ramazan. *Klâsikler Tartışması: Başlangıç Dönemi*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Merkezi Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1998. Print.

Karadağ, Ayşe Banu. "'Batı'nın Çevrilmesi Üzerine: Tanzimat Dönemi/ Sonrası Çevirilerini 'Medeniyet' Odağıyla Yeniden Okumak." *Kritik Edebiyat Eleştiri Dergisi* 2 (2009): 306–324. Print.

Kaschuba, Wolfgang. "Wie Fremde gemacht werden." *Transit Deutschland. Debatten zu Nation und Migration.* München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2011. 487-491. Print.

Kietzman, Mary Jo. "Speaking 'to All Humanity': Renaissance Drama in Orhan Pamuk's Snow." *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 52.3 324–353. Print.

Kleist, Heinrich von. "Die Verlobung in St. Domingo." *Sämtliche Werke : Berliner Ausgabe*. Ed. Roland Reuß and Peter Staengle. II. Basel: Stroemfeld/Roter Stern, 1988. 4 vols. Print.

---. "San Domingo'de Bir Nişanlama." *Üç Romantik Hikaye*. Trans. Sabahattin Ali. Ankara: Maarif Matbası, 1943. Print.

Koch, Manfred. *Weimarer Weltbewohner: Zur Genese von Goethe's Begriff "Weltliteratur."* Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2002. Print.

Kohl, Helmut. "Regierungserklärung Zur 12. Wahlperiode Des Deutschen Bundestages: Auszug Betreffend Europa Und Die Europäische Integration." N.p., 30 Jan. 1991. Web. March 15, 2015.

Kolcu, Ali Ihsan. *Türkçe'de Batı Şiiri: Tanzimat ve Servet-I Fünû Devirlerinde Batı Edebiyatından Yapılan Şiir Tercümeleri Üzerinde Bir Araştırma (1859-1901).* Istanbul: Gündoğan Yayınları, 1999. Print.

Kontje, Todd. "Passing for German: Politics and Patriarchy in Kleist, Körner, and Fischer." *German Studies Review* 22.1 (1999): 67–84. Print.

Konuk, Kader. *East West Mimesis: Auerbach in Istanbul*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010. Print.

Koselleck, Reinhart. "Deutschland--Eine Verspätete Nation?" *Zeitschichten: Studien Zur Historik*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2000. 359–80. Print.

Lau, Jörg. "Deutschstunden." *Transit Deutschland. Debatten zu Nation und Migration.* München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2011. 410-414. Print.

Levend, Agah Sırrı. *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri*. Third Edition. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1972. Print.

Lewis, Geoffrey. *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. Print.

Linke, Uli. "'There Is a Land Where Everything Is Pure': Linguistic Nationalism and Identity Politics in Germany." *Race, Nature, and the Politics of Difference*. Ed. Donald S. Moore, Jake Kosek, and Anand Pandian. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003. Print.

Littler, Margaret. "Guilt Victimhood and Identity in Zafer Şenocak's Gefährliche Verwandtschaft." *German Quartlery* 78.3 (2005): 357–373. Print.

Louth, Charlie. *Hölderlin and the Dynamics of Translation*. Oxford: University of Oxford, 1998. Print.

Lutz Clemens, Colleen Ann Lutz. "'Suicide Girls': Orhan Pamuk's Snow and the Politics of Resistance in Contemporary Turkey." *Feminist Formations* 23.1 (2011): 138–154. Print.

Maksudi, Sadri. *Türk Dili İçin*. Istanbul: Türk Ocakları İlim ve Sanat Heyeti, 1930. Print.

Mani, Venkat B. *Cosmopolitical Claims : Turkish-German Literatures from Nadolny to Pamuk*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2007. Print.

Marchand, Suzanne L. *German Orientalism in the Age of Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Print.

Merz, Friedrich. "Immigration and Identity: On the Freedom-Based German Guiding Culture." *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955-2005*. Trans. David Gramling. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. 313–314. Print.

---. "Immigration Und Identiät: Zur Diskussion Um Die "Freiheitliche Deutsche Leitkultur." *Die Welt* 25 Oct. 2000. Web. April 1, 2015.

Meyers, Jeffrey. "The Literary Politics of the Nobel Prize." *The Antioch Review* 65.2 214–223. Print.

Mitchell, Timothy, and Timothy Mitchell. "The Stage of Modernity." *Questions of Modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000. 1–31. Print.

Mithat, Ahmet. *Ahbar-I Asara Tamam-I Enzar*. Ed. Nüket Esen. Istanbul: Iletişim Yayınları, 2003. Print.

Mommsen, Katharina. *Goethe Und Diez: Quellenuntersuchungen Zu Gedichten Der Divan-Epoche*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961. Print.

---. *"Orient Und Okzident Sind Nicht Mehr Zu Trennen:" Goethe Und Die Weltkulturen*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2012. Print.

Moran, Berna. "Soylu Vahşi Olarak Kuyucaklı Yusuf." *Türk Edebiyatina Eleştirel Bir Bakış 2: Sabahattin Ali'den Yusuf Atılgan'a*. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1990. 24–30. Print.

Moretti, Franco. "Conjuctures on World Literature." *New Left Review* 1 (2000): n. pag. Print.

Müller-Sievers. *Desorientierung: Anatomie Und Dichtung Bei Georg Büchner*. Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2003. Print.

Nayır, Yaşar Nabi. *Edebiyatımızın Bugünkü Meseleleri*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi, 1937.

Neumark, Fritz. *Zuflucht am Bosphorous: Deutsche Gelehrte, Politiker und Künstler in der Emigration, 1933-1953*. Landau in der Pfalz: Knechtverlag, 1980.

Neuman, Justin. "Relious Cosmopolitanism? Orhan Pamuk, the Headscarf Debate, and the Problem with Pluralism." *Minnesota Review* 77 (2011): 143–161. Print.

Ören, Aras. "Chamisso Prize Acceptance Speech (1986)." *Germany in Transit. Nation and Migration 1955-2005*. 391-394. Eds. David Gramling, Deniz Göktürk, Anton Kaes. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. 391-394. Print.

---. "Dankrede zur Preisverleihung." *Transit Deutschland: Debatten zu Nation und Migration*. Eds. David Gramling, Deniz Göktürk, Anton Kaes. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2011. 574-576.

Özel, Sevgi, Haldun Özen, and Ali Püsküllüoğlu. *Atatürk'ün Türk Dil Kurumu ve Sonrası*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi, 1986. Print.

Paker, Saliha. "Translation as Terceme and Nazire: Culture-Bound Concepts and Their Implications for a Conceptual Framework for Research on Ottoman Translation History." *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research Models in Translation Studies / Historical and Ideological Issue*. Ed. Theo Hermans. Manchester, UK: St Jerome Publications, 2002. 120–143. Print.

Pamuk, Orhan. "Frankfurt Book Fair Opening Speech." Frankfurt. 2008.

---. *Kar*. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002. Print.

---. *Snow*. Trans. Maureen Freely. New York: Random House, 2005. Print.

Parks, Tim. "The Dull New Global Novel." *The New York Review of Books* 9 Feb. 2010. Web.

Pınar, Nedret. *1900-1983 Yılları Arasında Türkçe'de Goethe ve Faust Tercümeleri Üzerinde Bir İnceleme*. 1984. Dissertation. İstanbul Üniversitesi, Türkoloji Bölümü.

Pizer, John. "Johann Wolfgang von Goethe: Origins and Relevance of *Weltliteratur*." *The Routledge Companion to World Literature*. Eds. Theo D'haen, David Damrosch and Djelal Kadir. New York: Routledge, 2011. 3-11. Print.

Plessner, Helmut. *Die Verspätete Nation: Über Die Politische Verführbarkeit Bürgerlichen Geistes*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1982.

Polaschegg, Andrea. *Der Andere Orientalismus: Regeln Deutsch-Morgenländischer Imagination Im 19. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co, 2005. Print.

Reif, Daniella. Die Ästehtik der Leerstelle: Raymond Federmans Roman "La Fourrure de ma tante Rachel" vor dem Hintergrund des Gesamtwerks. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann, 2005. Print.

Revesz, Eva. "Poetry after Auschwitz: Tracing Trauma in Ingeborg Bachmann's Poetic Work." *Monatshefte* 99.2 (2007): 194–216. Print.

"Robert Bosch Stiftung." *About the Chamisso Prize*. N.p., n.d. Web.

Roberts, David. "Kleists Kritik der Urteilskraft: Zum Erhabenen in 'Das Erdbeben in Chili.'" *Heinrich von Kleist und die Aufklärung*. Ed. Timothy J. Mehigan. Rochester: Camden House, 2000. 46-57. Print.

Roche, Maurice. *Megaevents and Modernity: Olympics and Expos in the Growth of Global Culture*. London: Routledge, 2000. Print.

Rolls, Alistair. "Intertextuality as Translatability: Regimenting Space (for French Translation) in Barry Maitland's La Malcontenta." n. pag. Print.

Rothberg, Michael. *Multidirectional Memory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009. Print.

Rothberg, Michael, and Yasemin Yıldız. "Memory Citizenship: Migrant Archives of Holocaust Remembrance in Contemporary Germany." *Parallax* 17.4 (2011): 32–48. Print.

Sadoğlu, Hüseyin. *Türkiyede Ulusçuluk ve Dil Politikaları*. Istanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları., 2003. Print.

Said, Edward. *Orientalism*. New York: Vintage Books, 1994. Print.

---. "Reflections on Exile." *Reflections on Exile and Other Essays*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000. Print.

---. *The World The Text and The Critic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983. Print.

Schneider, Helmut J. "The Facts of Life: Kleist's Challenge to Enlightenment Humanism." *A Companian to the Works of Heinrich von Kleist*. Ed. Bernd Fischer. Rochester: Camden House, 2003. 141–163. Print.

Schwarz, Hans-Günther. *Der Orient Und Die Ästhetik Der Moderne*. Munich: Ludicium, 2003. Print.

Seeba, Hinrich C. " 'Germany: A Literary Concept': The Myth of National Literature." *German Studies Review*. Vol. 17, No. 2 (May, 1994). 353-369. Print.

Şengör. *Hasan-Ali Yücel ve Türk Aydınlanması*. Ankara: Tübitak Yayınları, 2001. Print.

Şenocak, Zafer. *Atlas of a Tropical Germany: Essays on Politics and Culture 1990-98*. Ed. &

trans. by Leslie A. Adelson. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000. Print.

---. "Between the Sex Pistols and the Koran." *Germany in Transit: Nation and Migration, 1955-2005*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. Print.

---. *Das Land Hinter Den Buchstaben: Deutschland Und Der Islam Im Umbruch*. München: Babel Verlag, 2006. Print.

---. *Deutschsein: Eine Aufklärungsschrift*. Hamburg: Edition Körber-Stiftung, 2011. Print.

---. "Fragments of Memory: Excerpts from Zafer Şenocak's Zungenentfernung." Trans. Jessıca Nıcholl and Martina Schwalm. *TRANSIT: Journal of Travel, Migration, and Multiculturalism in the German-speaking World* 8.1 n. pag. Print.

---. *Gefährliche Verwandtschaft*. München: Babel Verlag, 1998. Print.

---. *Köşk*. İstanbul: Alef Yayınevi, 2008. Print.

---. *Perilous Kinship*. Trans. Tom Cheesman. Swansea: Hafan Books, 2001. Print.

---. *The Residence*.

---. Türkei Mit Den Verschiedenen Facetten Vertreten. 15 Oct. 2008.

---. *War Hitler Araber? : IrreFührungen an Den Rand Europas*. Berlin: Babel Verlag Hund & van Uffelen, 1994. Print.

---. *Zungenentfernung: Bericht Aus Der Quarantänestation: Essays*. München: Babel, 2001. Print.

---. "Terra Incognito - Türkische Literatur in Deutschland: Einige Anmerkungen Zu Einer Schwierigen Rezeptionsgeschichte." *Türkischdeutsche Literatur: Chronik Literarischer Wanderungen*. Accessed March 1, 2014. http://www.tuerkischdeutsche-literatur.de/terra-incognita-tuerkische-literatur-in-deutschland

Seviner, Zeynep. "Between Languages: The Trope of Translation in Sabahattin Ali's Life and Work." New York University: N.p., 2015. Print.

Seyhan, Azade. *Tales of Crossed Destinies: The Modern Turkish Novel in a Comparative Context*. New York: The Modern Language Association, 2008. Print.

---. Writing Outside the Nation. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Sökmen, Müge Gürsoy. Interview. 15 Feb. 2014.

Sökmen, Müge Gürsoy, and Füsun Akatlı, eds. *Bilge Karasu Aramızda*. Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 1997. Print.

Sönmez, Sevengül. *A'dan Z'ye Sabahattin Ali*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2009. Print.

Sokol, Neal. "Translation and Its Discontents: A Conversation with Ilan Stevens." *The Literary Review*. 45.3 (Spring 2002): 554. Print.

Souleimanov, Emil, and Maya Ehrmann. "The Issue of the Recognition of the Armenian Genocide as a Political Phenomenon." *Gloria Center, Global Research in International Affairs*. N.p., 8 Apr. 2014. Web.

Soysal, Levent. "(In)formal Institutions, Culture and Educating Migrant Girls: The View from Berlin." *Education in Multicultural Societies: Turkish and Swedish Perspectives*. Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 2007. 213–226. Print.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. *In Other Worlds: Essays in Cultural Politics*. New York: Routledge, 2006. Print.

Stegmaier, Werner. *Philosophie Der Orientierung*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co, 2008. Print.

Strauss, Johann. "Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th Centuries)?" *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6.1 (2003): 39–76. Print.

Strich, Fritz. *Goethe and World Literature*. Trans. C.A.M. Sym. London: Routledge, 1949.

Print.

Tahir-Gürçağlar, Şehnaz. *The Poetics and Politics of Translation in Turkey 1923-1960*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008. Print.

---. "The Translatıon Bureau Revisited: Translation as Symbol." *Apropos of Ideology: Translation Studies on Ideology - Ideologies in Translation Studies*. Ed. Marıa Calzada Perez. Manchester, UK: St Jerome Publications, 2003. 113–129. Print.

Tanpınar, Ahmet Hamdi. *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*. Istanbul: Çağlayan Kitabev, 2003. Print.

---. *Edebiyat Üzerine Makaleler*. 2ci baskı. İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1977. Print.

"The Frankfurt Book Fair Celebrates Sixty Years: An Interview with Jürgen Boos." *New Books in German* Spring 2015. Issue 37. n.p. Web. April 15, 2015.

Tibi, Bassam. *Europa Ohne Identität? : Die Krise Der Multikulturellen Gesellschaft*. München: C. Bertelsmann, 1998. Print.

Togar, Melahat. "Arkadaşım Sabahattin Ali." *Sabahattin Ali: Anılar, İncelemeler, Eleştiriler*. Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2011. 67–73. Print.

Tolluoğlu, Meral Ataç. *Babam Nurullah Ataç*. Istanbul: Akın Yayınevi, 2005. Print.

Torun, Torun. *Nurullah Ataç'ın Denemelerinde Devrik Yapılar*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2009. Print.

Türkkan, Sevinç. "Orhan Pamuk's Kara Kitap [The Black Book]: A Double Life in English." *Global Perspectives on Orhan Pamuk: Existentialism and Politics*. Ed. Mehnaz M. Afridi and David M. Buyze. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 159–176. Print.

Türk Dil Kurumu. *Türk Dil Kurumu ve Etkinlikleri*. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları. Print.

"Türk Dil Kurumu (Turkish Language Institute)." N.p., n.d. Web. 15 Jan. 2015.

"Türkei in Vielen Farben Auf Der Frankfurter Buchmesse: Interview Mit Juergen Boos." *Die Berliner Literaturkritik*. N.p., 9 Nov. 2008. Web. 1 Apr. 2015.

Ulçugür, Saadet. *Nurullah Ataç: Hayatı, Sanatı, Eseri*. Istanbul: Varlık Yayınevi, 1964. Print.

Ülken, Hilmi Ziya. *Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü*. Istanbul: Ülken Yayınları, 1997. Print.

Uysal Ünalan, Saniye. *Interkulturelle Begegungsräume: Neue Identitätskonstruktionen in Der Türkisch-Deutschen Gegenwartsliteratur*. Vol. 5. Würzburg: Verlag Königshausen & Neumann GmbH, 2013. Print. Studien Zur Deutsch-Türkischen Literatur Und Kultur.

Venuti, Lawrence. *The Translator's Invisibility : A History of Translation*. London: Routledge, 1995. Print.

Von Moltke, Johannes. *No Place Like Home: Locations of Heimat in German Cinema*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Print. Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism.

Warner, Chantelle. *The Pragmatics of Literary Testimony: Authenticity Effects in German Social Autobiographies*. New York: Routledge, 2013.

Winkler, Heinrich August. "Eine Verspätete Nation? Zum Ort Der Wiedervereinigung in Der Deutschen Geschichte." *Zeitzeichen*, February 2009. http://zeitzeichen.net/archiv/geschichte-politik-gesellschaft/verspaetete-nation/

Weidhaas, Peter. *A History of the Frankfurt Book Fair*. Trans. C.M. Gossage and W.A. Wright. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2007. Print.

Weigel, Sigrid. *Ingeborg Bachmann: Hinterlassenschaft Unter Wahrung Des Briefgeheimnisses*. Wien; Zsolnay: Zsolnay-Verlag, 1999. Print.

Welsch, Wolfgang. "Transculturality: The Puzzling Form of Cultures Today." *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*. Ed. Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash. London: Stage Publications Ltd, 1999. 194–214. Print.

Weinreich, Harald. "Der Adelbert-von-Chamisso Preis." *Transit Deutschland: Debatten zu Nation und Migration*. Eds. David Gramling, Deniz Göktürk, Anton Kaes. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2011. 572-573. Print.

---. "The Adelbert von Chamisso Prize." *Germany in Transit. Nation and Migration 1955-2005*. 391-394. Eds. David Gramling, Deniz Göktürk, Anton Kaes. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007. 390-391. Print.

"Works Subsidized According to Countries (Table)." *Translation and Publication Grant Programme of Turkey*, 2014. http://www.tedaproject.gov.tr/EN,53649/works-subsidized-according-to-countries-table.html.

Yaşat, Doğan, ed. *Bilge Karasu'yu Okumak*. Istanbul: Metis Yayınları, 2013. Print.

Yetiş, Kazım, ed. *Atatürk ve Türk Dili: Atatürk Devri Yazarlarının Türk Dili Hakkındaki Görüşleri*. 3 vols. Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu Yayınları, 2005. Print.

Yıldız, Yasemin. *Beyond the Mother Tongue: The Postmonolingual Condition*. 1st ed. New York: Fordham University Press, 2012. Print.

Young, Robert. *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*. London ; New York: Routledge, 1990. Print.

Zurcher, Erich. *Turkey: A Modern History*. London ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. Print.